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ART. I.—HERALDRY, BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign, with English and French Glossaries. By JOHN WOODWARD, F.S.A. Scot., etc. (Rector of St. Mary's Church, Montrose), and the late GEORGE BURNETT, LL.D., etc. (Lyon King of Arms). 2 Volumes. W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London. 1892.

FOR more than half a century past there has been a great revival of interest in Heraldry, or as our earlier writers would have said in Armory, as well as in other branches of archæology. 'Heraldry' is in fact whatever belongs to the duties of a herald: a knowledge of the devices borne on or in connection with shields is, properly speaking, 'Armory,' and this is the term employed by our older writers. Gerard Leigh, for example, published, in 1562, *The Accedence of Armorie*; John Bossewell, in 1572, *Workes of Armorie*; William Wyrley, in 1592, *The True Vse of Armorie*; and Edmund Bolton, in 1610, *The Elements of Armories*. In 1611 first appeared that most popular book, *A Display of Heraldrie*, published, if not written, by John Guillim, pursuivant of arms; and since that period the term 'Heraldry,' rather than 'Armory,' has been generally used to signify the art or science of coat-armour. Alexander Nisbet, the leading Scottish writer on the subject (1722), follows in the same track, styling his great work *A System of Heraldry*.

Foremost amongst the writers whose works have tended to promote a revival of the study of Heraldry, may be named Sir N. Harris Nicolas, Thomas Willement, J. A. Montagu, John Gough Nichols, Mark Antony Lower, James Robinson Planché, George Seton, and Charles Boutell. Students have also been greatly aided by the publication of many Rolls of Arms, and accurate representations of seals and monumental brasses. Several periodicals have contributed largely to the stock of information, as have also (but chiefly as regards genealogy) the publications of the Harleian Society. As a work dealing with the subject generally, nothing has hitherto appeared, at least in this country, equal in importance to the work whose title is given at the head of the present article, considering especially that it relates not only to the Heraldry of Great Britain, but to that of every country in Europe.

In his 'Introduction,' Mr. Woodward states that this work was undertaken, and considerable progress made in its execution, by the late Dr. George Burnett, who so long and so worthily filled the office of Lyon King of Arms. On his decease in 1889, his MS. was placed in Mr. Woodward's hands, with a request that he would see the work through the press, it being then supposed to be nearly complete. An examination of the MS. proved however that this was very far indeed from being the case. It consisted only of about one fourth as much matter as the present work; and it was ultimately arranged that the MS. and such of the plates as were in course of preparation, should be handed over to Mr. Woodward to be utilised by him as he might think desirable.

In the exercise of his discretion Mr. Woodward determined to rewrite the book, mainly in order to give it a far wider application than Dr. Burnett had intended, and to make it an Introduction to European Heraldry in general. But he decided to print in full those portions of Dr. Burnett's work which seemed the most interesting and valuable, and especially those relating to Scottish armory, with regard to which his official position and long experience enabled him to speak with peculiar authority. These portions are distinctly marked with Dr. Burnett's initials.

Mr. Woodward states that the object which he has had in

view is not to furnish amusement to the general reader, but to make the work one of real utility to the student. He has therefore, as he tells us, not indulged in fine writing and graceful composition, but has rather sought plainly to state facts. For the same reason he has avoided the many legendary tales with which heraldic books too frequently abound, but which, though interesting in their way, will not bear examination by the light of history.

In Chapter I. our authors treat of the term 'Heraldry,' and of the social conditions, mainly in connection with feudalism, under which gentility was developed in early times; side by side with which grew up the use of distinctive devices on banner or shield, by which military leaders were distinguished. These were at first personal, afterwards hereditary, and it is shown that the lawful possession of a shield of arms constitutes nobility. Amongst other subjects dealt with in this chapter is that of the 'particule nobiliaire,' in French *de*, in German *von*. It is shown that in Britain the presence or absence of the prefix *de* never was a criterion of nobility, and that in early times it was not such in France. Even in later times many of the noblest families of that kingdom never used it. Louis XIV., however, in 1699, forbade the use of the prefix to all who were not noble by race.

In Holland *van* or *vander* is no sign of nobility. Dr. Burnett deprecates in strong terms the frequent practice in modern times of prefixing *De* to certain surnames, and the extensive introduction of that particle, from mistaken motives, into peerage titles. He might, on similar grounds, have condemned the affectation of spelling certain names with *ff*, which is, of course, only a form of the capital.

Chapter II. deals with 'The Origin and Development of Coat Armour.' On these points our authors agree with the belief of Mr. Planché, 'That heraldry appears as a science at the commencement of the thirteenth century, and that although armorial bearings had been in existence for some time previous, no precise date has yet been discovered for their first assumption.' All the evidence which we possess, negative and positive, leads to the conclusion that though some national or tribal insignia may be of earlier origin, and though certain objects may have been used

as personal devices, there was nothing like armory, even personal, earlier than about the middle of the twelfth century. The earliest authentic instance of an armorial shield on a seal appears to be that of Philip I., Count of Flanders, appended to a charter dated 1164. King Richard I. has two armorial seals, one before and one after the Third Crusade, 1189. In his second Great Seal, used after his return from captivity, 1194, we have the earliest representation of the three lions of England. Another early seal with arms is that of Prince John, who, before his accession to the throne, 1199, bore two lions passant. 'In Scotland the seal of Alan Stewart in 1170 had apparently no arms upon the shield borne by his mounted effigies, but in 1190 the shield of the same Alan bears for the first time the fess chequy.*'

In early days arms were no doubt usually assumed by great feudal tenants of their own accord. After a time, in order to prevent confusion in armies or at tournaments, armorial devices were regulated by officers appointed for the purpose, and so came to be regarded as hereditary property. In the fourteenth century instances occur of the grant by feudal lords to their sub-tenants of arms, commonly varied from their own, and this practice will account for the prevalent use of certain bearings in particular counties as, for example, of garbs in Cheshire, cinquefoils in Leicestershire, and chequers in Surrey. In like manner the saltire-and-chief of the ancient lords of Annandale in Scotland was taken, with variations, by the Bruces and numerous other families in the district. This is an interesting subject, but it is well known to heraldic students, and we need not pursue it here. The book proceeds to speak of transfers of arms by deed or will, which, though occasionally practised in former ages, would not be deemed lawful now. Even as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Dr. Burnett thinks that there was in England probably a good deal of assumption of arms *proprio motu*, but this was terminated by a proclamation of Henry V., in 1419, forbidding all persons who had not borne arms at Agincourt to assume them except by right of inheritance or by grant from the Crown. It was nevertheless maintained by the author

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 49.

of the *Boke of St. Albans* that any one might assume arms of his own will, provided that they had not been borne by any other person.

Mr. Woodward next discusses the influence of the Crusades, and especially the Third Crusade (1189-92), and of tournaments, upon armorial bearings. It is shewn that Rûxner's *Thurnier Buch* and the *Leges Hastiludiales*, attributed to the Emperor Henry, called the Fowler, A.D. 938, are quite unworthy of credit, being obviously fictions of a later period than that to which they refer.

Turning to sepulchral monuments, Mr. Woodward alludes to the enamelled plaque preserved in the museum at Le Mans, and which is regarded as having belonged to the tomb of Geoffroi Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, father of Henry II., King of England. As the Count died in 1151, this may not be too early for a genuine example of an armorial shield. The arms are *Azure, six lions rampant or*, and in addition to these the shield exhibits an escarbuncle, a figure which was not originally armorial (though it became so at a later period) but was only an arrangement of iron bands radiating from a boss in the centre of the shield, and serving to strengthen it. It is worthy of remark that Planché believed the plaque in question to represent William (Fitz Patrick) Earl of Salisbury, who died in 1196, and whose arms (as he supposes) were, with the earldom, carried, by his daughter's marriage, to the family of Longespee. At a later period they formed, with other bearings, the well-known arms of Bohun.

Chapter III. relates to the 'Shape of Shields, Tinctures' and 'Parted Coats.' Here are some remarks upon the lozenge, which since the fourteenth century has been generally used for the arms of maids and widows. Mr. Boutell, advocates the discontinuance of this form on account of its inconvenience; but it does not appear how this could be effected unless by authority, and in any case some distinction for the arms of women would be necessary. Under Tinctures, one solitary instance is given of the use in Scotland of the colour *sanguine*. It occurs in the Lyon Register, for Clayhills of Invergowrie, and may (we venture to suggest) be a mistake for *gules*. Some other unusual colours are found in a few foreign coats,

happily not in Britain. The term *proper*, however, admits some peculiar tints, and *tenny* occurs now and then in standards, possibly in crests.

With regard to the representation of heraldic tinctures by lines and points, it may be observed that before the general adoption of the system of F. de Petra Sancta, about the middle of the seventeenth century, lines were sometimes employed in ways which have led modern writers into error. The apocryphal arms of the South Saxon kings, for example, are sometimes described as *Gules*, sometimes as *Azure, six martlets or*. We believe the latter description is simply a mistake, resulting from the use in Speed's *Theatrum Magnæ Britanniae*, 1616, of lines for shadowing, and not, as some have imagined, to represent colours.

Mr. Woodward has collected about forty instances, chiefly foreign, of coats consisting of a single metal or colour only, besides many others consisting of one fur. Plain *Gold* is the original coat of the Italian family of Bandinelli, to which belonged Pope Alexander III., and it appears, diapered, upon his tomb in the church of St. John Lateran.* A very few examples of this class of coats occur in England. *Azure* is attributed to a family named Berington, in Cheshire. Sir Eumenious de la Brette, who was at the siege of Carlaverock in 1300, bore pure *Gules*; he was of the family of Albret, sometime Kings of Navarre. A branch of the great house of Gournay is said to have borne only *Sable*. The *Ermine* shield of Brittany† had considerable influence in the formation of cantons, borders, and labels of that fur in English armory. In describing different sorts of *vair* and *potent*, Mr. Woodward has perhaps fallen into that over refinement which he elsewhere condemns. We believe that they were all, *potent* included, the same originally.

Under 'Parted Coats, etc.,' we have explanations of the various partition lines, and of the modes of partition. As to the arms of Waldegrave, *Per pale argent and gules*, we may quote a remark-

* Some of the family added to the plain escutcheon, in the dexter chief a round shield, charged with a knight in full career, spear in rest.

† This name is frequently, as by Mr. Woodward, spelled 'Brittany.' As it was in Latin always 'Britannia,' we prefer the form adopted above.

able statement of Mr. Beltz, who informs us that on the day of the jousts held at Plymouth, 24th July 1371, Thomas de Holand, son and heir of Thomas late Earl of Kent, granted to his companion in arms Sir Richard Waldegrave and his heirs male, leave to bear his own helm, being 'party per pale argent and gules, crowned or.' Mr. Beltz states that the authority for the arms now borne by the noble family of Waldegrave is derived from the above grant.*

The well known coat of Campbell, Duke of Argyll, is *Gyronny of 8, or and sable*. It is surprising to find how great a diversity of opinion prevails amongst heraldic authorities as to the correct form of this simple coat. Some place the metal first, others the colour. That the metal should come first may be regarded as certain; but which is the first gyron? We have no doubt that our author is quite correct in his decision that the first gyron is that which occupies the dexter chief. The opinion expressed by Mr. Woodward that when a coat is *paly*, *barry* or *bendy*, of six, the number need not be mentioned, may be in accordance with French practice, but it seems to us that the omission of the number in such cases is likely to lead to errors. It is certainly more safe to state the number in all such cases. But in compound divisions such as *lozengy*, *bendy-lozengy*, etc., the number of pieces may be deemed immaterial.

Arms with metal upon metal, or colour upon colour, occur but seldom. The example best known in Britain is that of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. Mr. Woodward gives (at p. 752) about two dozen instances from the heraldry of Germany, Denmark, Italy, and Spain, but not one from Britain. We may therefore add that in a well known book entitled *Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam*, by John Gibbon, Bluemantle Pursuivant, 1682,† that writer has collected about an equal number of English examples. It must however be added, that many of these are of very doubtful genuineness, their peculiarity being pro-

* *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, p. 221, n. What was granted appears to have been the crest of Waldegrave, in a coronet or, a plume of five ostrich feathers, party per pale argent and gules. From this the arms were in some way evolved.

† Pp. 150-152.

bably the result of the fading away or tarnishing of the original colours. Still there is however reason to believe that some of the examples given are genuine. Denham, of Suffolk, for example, is said to bear *Gules, a cross vert*; Ore, of Kent, *Gules, a bend azure, fretty or*; Walden, *Gules, a bend azure, in sinister chief a martlet or*; and Venour, of Kent, *Gules, on a fess sable, five escallops or, 3 and 2*. But that labels, chiefs, cantons, bordures, and other accessories, may be of colour upon colour is well known.

From a very early period fields and ordinaries are frequently decorated with *diapering*, usually of the same tincture, but of a lighter or darker shade. This when judiciously applied is exceedingly effective, but, as Mr. Woodward points out, care should always be taken lest the actual bearings be obscured. The *diapering* should in every case consist of foliage or pattern merely, not of figures; for these might be mistakenly regarded as essential portions of the arms.

Chapter IV. treats of 'Ordinaries.' These are thought by many to have been developed, generally speaking, from the bands of wood or metal which in early times served to strengthen the shield. The fact that ordinaries form but a small proportion of the elements of the earliest coats, seems a strong objection to this view, but no more likely theory has been suggested. The theoretical proportions of the ordinaries, as stated by old writers, would have been better omitted altogether, it being admitted that they have never been observed in practice.

It is affirmed by several English writers (but not in this book) that the fess must always cover the fess-point of the escutcheon, and consequently that it cannot be borne with a chief. The fallacy of this statement will appear from the following examples. Morteyn (in Glover's *Ordinary*) bears *Argent, a fess gules; on a chief azure, two mullets of the first*; and in the *Visitation of Surrey*, 1623, the arms of Burton of Carshalton are *Ermine, a fess sable; a chief chequy or and of the second*. Besides, there is no coat which may not have a chief, or even two, one set above the other. This is evident from the fact that a chief *gules charged with a cross argent* is the distinction of every knight of St. John.

It is an error (not occurring in this book) to suppose that the *bend* represents the diagonal sword-belt; it was in use long

before the shoulder-belt was worn. As to the position of charges placed *upon a bend*, or *in bend*, our author says that 'if their height is greater than their breadth, they follow the line of the bend; if not, the charges are placed in the bend paleways.'* It appears to us doubtful whether the latter part of this rule is quite accurately expressed. We are inclined to think that upright objects upon bends are seldom to be met with. The owls of Savile, and the lions passant of Browne, are not in a perpendicular position, as our authors' text would lead us to suppose, but going up the bend, and this (as to Savile) appears from an accompanying plate. We doubt our authors' representation of the arms of Northcote—one of several grants which that family has had. It differs from all the engravings to which we have had access, and also from our interpretation of the blazon, which is always *Argent, three cross-crosslets in bend sable*. According to this book a *cheveron chequy*—as in the arms of Sempill—has the squares upright. This is a point on which authorities differ. Seton gives to the Lords Ross—we think mistakenly—three rows of chequers in the line of the chevron. In ancient rolls of arms the plain cross is often called *crois passant*, which is supposed to mean 'passion cross, i.e., the Latin cross, for on the long shields of the thirteenth century the plain cross had nearly that form.'†

It is said‡ to be a rule in Scotland that when a saltire is charged, the charges, except the central one if any, should slope with the limbs of the saltire. We should say, however, that the nine lozenges on the saltire of Dalrymple are at least as frequently all set upright. The other arrangement seems to be only a fanciful one.

The *cross-crosslets* of Beauchamp were frequently *botonny* (otherwise *treflé*) in old examples. Camden's cross-crosslets should have been described as *fitchy*. We are unable to agree in the suggestion that the central cross in the arms of Jerusalem

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 130.

† *Three Rolls of Arms*, edited by W. S. Walford and C. S. Perceval, p. 8. From *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX.

‡ *Treatise*, p. 144.

may be a combination of the letters H and I. At an early period it was drawn as a cross pomel,* and the cross of St. Chad nearly resembles it. The *cross avellane* occurs in a grant to Peppin (or to Sydenham ?) in 1757.

Chapter V. describes the charges known as 'Sub-Ordinaries.' The *canton* (often formerly a *quarter*) is variously used. Sometimes as a charge, and it may be the only charge, as in the arms of Sutton. More frequently it is an addition to the original coat, sometimes as an augmentation of honour, sometimes merely as a difference, sometimes for other reasons. It is held that when a person is heir to his mother and not to his father (which may happen when the father has issue by another marriage), he ought to bear his mother's arms with a canton of his father's. This arrangement, though officially recognised, is open to serious objection. There might be a canton in the maternal arms—possibly nothing but a canton. There is, in truth, no reason why this particular sort of heirship should be excepted from the general rule as to quartering. There are other uses of the canton which are less intelligible. Sir Rowland Hill, Lord Mayor of London, 1549, though he was entitled by descent to other arms, bore those of his mother's family, Wilbraham, with a canton composed in part from the arms of Malpas, a remote ancestor. Sir Thomas White, Lord Mayor, 1553, bore *Gules, an annulet or; on a border sable eight estoiles of the second; and on a canton ermine, a lion rampant of the third*. This canton seems to be of the arms of Kendrick, a family probably in some way connected with that of White. For about three centuries the Harfords of Herefordshire have added to their arms a canton of the arms of Scrope. This is simply in commemoration of a match with a daughter of that illustrious family, who was not an heiress.

Under 'Bordures' we read that different families of Erpingham bore *Argent*, with bordures of various tinctures for difference, charged with martlets. We very decidedly prefer the ordinary blazon, *e.g.*, *Gules, an inescutcheon within an orle of martlets* (or rather, *between eight martlets in orle*) *argent*. We may here

* Planché, *Pursuivant*, p. 32.

observe that though the number of charges placed upon a bordure, or in orle, is now usually eight,* the number was by no means thus limited in ancient examples. It is often ten or more, in fact *sans nombre*.

The Scottish *tressure* is said to appear for the first time on the Great Seal of Alexander III. (1249-86) and in a roll of the same period it is styled 'un borde florette de gulez.' It is not clear that it was fully developed until somewhat later. The *fret* originated in the *fretty* coats of an earlier period. The number of pieces in the pattern so-called was at first immaterial, afterwards eight or six. Fretty of six pieces was at length generally changed into a fret. In one instance the *lozenge* is found lying horizontally. It occurs in an original grant by Benolt to Ralph Cauldwell of Staffordshire in the time of Henry VIII. Pales, fesses, bends, and crosses, composed of lozenges conjoined were originally, in many cases, ordinaries engrailed, though the fact is not apparently noticed in this work. The fusils of Percy seem, however, to have been mill-picks, and were perhaps derived from Pichot de Percy.† In foreign heraldry the *billet* is occasionally borne in a horizontal position, in coats which are *billety* or *semé of billets*. No instance of the *billet couché* is known in British heraldry, but there is a charge which, though identical with it in form, is in fact a hone. It occurs in the arms of Hone, (quartered by Sir Thomas Bodley) viz., *Argent, two bars wavy between three hones (or hone-stones) sable*.

Chapter VI. refers to 'Animate Charges—The Human Figure.' Here the fact is recognized that the figure which forms the ensign of the see of Chichester was intended to represent our Lord, as described in the first chapter of the Apocalypse, though it has long been ignorantly described as Prester John. (Possibly, as Mr. Boutell suggests, the figure may have been supposed to represent St. John the Evangelist, 'the Elder.') We are not sure that the seat is mistakenly called 'a tomb-stone' for the bearing represents Him 'that liveth and was dead.' With it may be

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 172.

† Longstaffe, *The Old Heraldry of the Percys*, 1860, p. 8. Originally published in *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. IV.

compared the Holy Lamb holding a flag with a red cross, and standing on a tomb, which device pertains to the College of Bonhommes at Ashridge, Bucks.* Dr. John Incent, Dean of St. Paul's 1540-45, bore in his arms a naked child—an innocent.† Savages (wild or *wode* men) occur pretty frequently in the arms and crests of families named Wood. They are also the supporters of Wodehouse, Earl of Kimberley.

Chapter VII. treats of 'Beasts,' beginning with the lion. Under the name of this majestic quadruped we are struck with the long list of families which, even in England, have borne lions rampant with identical tinctures, and cannot but wonder that no contests are on record for the right to bear them, like that about the bend in *Scrope and Grosvenor*. The fact also brings out, very forcibly, the uselessness, in many cases, of the minor differences; for what herald could make anything of such a coat, considered in itself, as *Gules, a lion rampant or, with a crescent for difference*? The lion is occasionally a symbol of St. Mark, as in the coat of Markham. The white horse of Ancient Saxony or Westphalia is well known in the royal armory of Britain. The white horse of Kent is commonly referred to as of Saxon origin, and it is remarkable in connection with the horses which in various parts of England are cut upon the sides of hills. The high estimation in which white horses were held by the ancient Germans is spoken of by Tacitus.

Chapter VIII. deals with 'Birds,' beginning with the eagle. The history of that bird as the symbol of the Roman Empire, and of other powers claiming succession to the same, is here pretty fully stated. In Europe there are still the eagles of Austria, Russia, and Germany, besides others pertaining to minor principalities. An able writer remarks that 'owing to the restoration of the Western Empire during the rule of the Byzantine Cæsars, the world has never since [the time of Augustus] been without one or two Emperors of the Romans. The present Austrian Emperor,

* Compare Woodward and Burnett, p. 236. The nimbus of Divinity is not charged with a cross, as commonly supposed, but with three rays (probably), in reference to the Holy Trinity.

† The arms are misdescribed in the printed copy of Lee's *Gatherings of Oxfordshire*, 1574. *Vis. Oxf.*, Harl. Soc., p. 112.

though holding scarcely a province of Adrian's, is the direct successor of Charlemagne, who was crowned in Rome, Emperor of the Romans, the sixty-ninth from Augustus.* The Czar of Russia bears the double-headed eagle, which was assumed by the Grand Duke Ivan Basilovitz, who in 1472 married Sophia, daughter of Thomas Paleologus, and niece of the last Emperor of Byzantium, Constantine XIV.† The German Emperor reigns over some Roman provinces, and bears a single-headed eagle with the crown of Charlemagne. The single-headed eagle, assumed with the imperial title by the first Napoleon Bonaparte, sets forth the union of the whole Roman Empire as the traditional aim of his family. All this strikingly harmonizes with the admitted fact of the continuance to the present time, though in a divided state, of the Roman Empire,‡ and suggests thoughts as to what may be the ultimate meaning of the words, 'Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.' §

The swan, as the device of the great family of Bohun, is probably traceable to Sweyn of Essex, some of whose lands came into the possession of the Bohuns. From them the swan, as a badge or cognizance, descended to the royal house of Lancaster, and also to the family of Stafford, Dukes of Buckingham; hence it became associated with the county. ||

The feathers of the ostrich form a subject of great interest in connection with English heraldry. It is too large for discussion here. We will only observe that Henry Harman, Clerk of the Council to Henry VII., bore *Argent a chevron purpure between three ostrich feathers sable*, in which very suitable device Guillim appears to have mistaken the feathers for 'peruques'¶—an instructive instance of the way in which heraldic bearings get perverted.

* C. Maitland, *The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation*, 1849, p. 8.

† *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 250.

‡ *Missale Romanum*: service for Good Friday—'respice ad Romanum benignus imperium.' 'Ye know what withholdeth,' etc., 2 Thes., ii. 6, 7. 'Quis nisi Romanus status?' says Tertullian.

§ St. Luke, xvii. 37. Comp. Zech. xiv. 2.

|| See a paper on 'The Swan of Buckingham,' by the present writer, in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, Vol. III., pp. 249-270.

¶ *Display*, p. 174, first edition. Here the chevron is *gules*.

Chapter IX. relates to 'Fish, Reptiles, and Insects.' With regard to the first of these classes, there is an excellent and beautifully illustrated monograph called *The Heraldry of Fish*, by Thomas Moule (1842). It takes in the armory of all nations, and includes shell-fish, crustacea, and all manner of sea monsters, as well as fishing-tackle, nets, etc. An adder nowed is the coat of Natheley. This is a canting coat.* Bees have recently become rather frequent in what are called industrial coats, as in that of Peel. The name of Sewell is derived from a manor in Houghton-Regis, Bedfordshire, and the insects in their arms are not bees, but butterflies, as appears by an ancient tomb belonging to one of them in the parish church.

Chapter X. refers to 'Monsters,' such as griffins, dragons, wyverns, the phoenix, and the like. It seems that unicorns became the supporters of the Royal Arms of Scotland about the beginning of the sixteenth century. This beast was of great note in medieval legend, and was probably known to English heraldry at a considerably earlier date.

Chapter XI., proceeding to 'Inanimate Charges,' describes the heraldic use of the sun, the moon, crescents, stars, comets, as well as objects connected with meteorology, land, water, and fire. The sun often appears in declining English armory in the arms of families whose surnames end with 'son,' such as Jenkinson, Nicholson, Pearson.

The crescent is best known as a token of the Saracens, and its extensive use in the armory of Europe is thought to be connected with the Crusades. It seems to have been a symbol of the Ishmaelites from remote antiquity.† A crescent affixed to the vaulting at Canterbury, over the site of the shrine of St. Thomas, is conjectured to be a trophy brought from the Holy Land.

There is some confusion between stars and mullets as used in armory. The difference is often not in shape but in intention. The star or estoile has usually six points waved; the three stars

* A village in Sussex, conspicuously seated on a hill, bears the name of Netherfield. This is at first sight incomprehensible. The explanation is that a *nedder* is an *adder*, and that the place, never having had the advantage of a visit from St. Patrick, abounds with snakes.

† See Judges, viii. 21,—'ornaments like the moon.'

of Hansard have six points not waved. The so-called mullet of Vere is a star of five points, and the stars in the arms of Baillie (associated in some coats with the sun or moon) are often drawn in the same way. When stars with straight points are pierced they may be considered mullets, or spur-rowels. The spur did not take this form until the earlier part of the fourteenth century. The rainbow occurs in the arms of Pont.

Chapter XII. is concerned with 'The Vegetable Kingdom'—trees and flowers, fruits, garbs, etc. Under this division comes the fleur-de-lis, derived from the garden lily or iris. The earliest occurrence of the shield of France *semé of fleurs-de-lis* is under Louis VIII. (1223-26), but single fleurs occur considerably earlier. It was in 1376 that Charles V. issued an edict reducing the number in the arms of France to three, 'pour symboliser la Sainte Trinité.' On the second Great Seal of Henry IV. of England the number is reduced to three.*

A most interesting fact in connection with the fleur-de-lis is that of the letters of nobility granted by Charles VII. to the brothers of Joan of Arc in 1429, with the surname Du Lis, and the arms *Azure, between two fleurs-de-lis of France, a sword in pale proper, hilted, and supporting on its point an open crown or*. It is said that the family still exists in Hampshire, with the name of Lys,† but this seems doubtful, for to the Hampshire family we find a different coat of arms attributed.

The statement that the thistle 'was unknown as the badge of Scotland prior to the reign of James III., 1460-88,'‡ will probably be read with surprise by many, yet we have no evidence of its earlier use.§ The cotton-hanks, as they are called, in the arms

* It is remarkable that the shields upon the canopy on the obverse of the fourth Great Seal of Edward III. have but three fleurs-de-lis, though the reverse of the same seal has the French quarter *semé*. No importance is, however, to be attached to the reduced number in this case; it is only adopted through want of space for more.

† *Notes and Queries*, Vol. VII., p. 295.

‡ *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 336.

§ An order or fraternity, sometimes called Knights of the Thistle, or of Our Lady, was instituted by Louis II., Duke of Bourbon, in 1370. It seems to have lasted but a short time. Louis had been prisoner in Eng-

of Cotton were, as some tell us, anciently hawks' jesses, though the family is now usually said to bear three cotton-hanks, as if in allusion to the name. 'It is, however, plain that the name Cotton and the arms also are both much older than the knowledge of cotton in this kingdom. The family draw their name from their ancient residence *Coed-ton*—dwelling-place in the wood—and by corrupt pronunciation are called Cotton.*

Pears, called Warden pears, as it is believed from Warden Abbey, Bedfordshire, are borne by Warden, even in Scotland.† It is somewhat remarkable that pears are also borne by families named Abbot.

Chapter XIII. deals with other 'Inanimate Charges,' described as 'Miscellaneous.' They are classed as 'Military, Nautical, Ecclesiastical, Domestic.' In the blazon of Garbett‡ the griffin, which should support the banner, is omitted. Castles appear in such various forms (even in different representations of the same arms, *e.g.*, Castile) that much care is needed in describing them, and this is also true of bridges, and to some extent of towers. Our author§ fails to recognise the fact that the word 'fans' in a description of the arms of Edinburgh is but another form of 'vanes.'|| Ships need careful blazon, being of many different types. Amongst ecclesiastical bearings may be named the chapel, of which one instance only has been noticed. It occurs in the arms of a family named Chapell, and is represented in the Huntingdonshire Visitation of 1613.¶ The pilgrims' staves of Lord Hawke are also described (and more correctly, we believe), as boatswains' whistles.** Buckles occur in various forms and positions, which need to be described in blazon.

land, as was also David II., King of Scots. It has been supposed that there was some connection between this brotherhood and the assumption of the thistle as a badge by the Kings of Scotland, but we have no certain information on the subject.

* MS. note by the late Rev. R. W. Huntley. † *Treatise*, p. 340.

‡ *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 352. § *Ibid.*, p. 360.

|| Comp. St. Matthew, iii. 12, 'Whose fan is in His hand;' and the arms of Septvans, no doubt originally seven winnowing vanes, but long ago reduced to three.

¶ Ed. Camden Soc., p. 87.

** Collins' *Peerage*, 1779, Vol. VIII., p. 334.

In Chapter XIV. (with which begins the second volume) our authors take up the interesting subject of 'Cadency or Differencing.' The various modes which have prevailed in different countries, but especially in Scotland, are illustrated by numerous examples. None of them have ever been systematically carried out, nor does it seem possible that any of them ever can be. With respect to the small marks of cadency generally recognised in England, our authors remark that 'the system has been found unworkable, and beyond a second generation there is not even the semblance of provision for indicating cadency.'* Some of the many ways in which cadency has been marked in Scotland are no doubt preferable; but, generally speaking, their weak point is that they obscure or destroy the original coat.

Chapter XV. treats of 'Marshalling.' By way of introduction to this subject many interesting examples are cited of several shields upon one seal, as well as of composed coats, such as that of Stewart and Bonkyll, in which the fess chequy of the former is surmounted by a bend charged with the buckles of the latter. In strictness, 'marshalling,' consists not in such things as these, but in the arrangement of several separate coats in one shield, by impalement, quartering, or otherwise. *Impalement* at first frequently took the form of *dimidiation*. The earliest known example of *quartering* is the shield of Castile and Leon. The arms so arranged are upon the tomb of Queen Eleanor at Westminster, 1290, and upon some of her memorial crosses. The first English example of a quartered coat which we have seen occurs in an inventory of the goods of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, made in 1322, wherein is mentioned '*j autre [quintepointe, i.e., quilt] quartelé des armes d'Engleterre et de Hereford.*'† The quartered shield of France and England dates from 1340. These quarters ere long came to be regarded as one coat, and in later examples of marshalling are dealt with accord-

* *Treatise*, Vol. II., p. 397.

† *Archæological Journal*, Vol. II., p. 349. The Earl married a daughter of King Edward I. The quartered arms seem to belong to the wife rather than to the husband. At this early period there was no settled rule for such a case.

ingly. One rather peculiar example of quartering (including grand-quarters) is the shield of the Duke of Northumberland, the history of which has been learnedly investigated by Mr. Longstaffe.* Grand-quarters are not usual in England, but in the heraldry of Scotland they are rather frequent. The *escutcheon surtout* (sometimes called an *inescutcheon*) appears in English heraldry upon stall-plates of the time of Henry VI. Since that time it has usually exhibited the arms of a wife, being an heiress, who has borne a living child, so that the husband has become entitled to her lands for his life by what is termed in law 'the courtesy of England.' Until the birth of issue the husband is not entitled so to bear his wife's arms, but only to impale them. Instances occur of the arms being impaled, and having also the escutcheon of pretence over the dexter coat. In the arms of sovereigns and royal princes the escutcheon surtout usually bears their paternal arms, as *Saxony* is now borne by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales and the other descendants of the late Prince Consort. The usage has prevailed also in the royal arms of several foreign countries, as in Poland, Spain, and Greece. We find one instance of an inescutcheon being granted as an augmentation—obviously an objectionable arrangement—namely, by Charles II. to Colonel Newman, for his distinguished conduct at the battle of Worcester.† In Scotland, during the fifteenth and two following centuries the escutcheon surtout generally displayed arms representing the chief feudal lordship. In a comparatively few instances the paternal arms have been thus borne over several quarters, and both these usages have been continued to the present day. Since the Union of 1707 the English usage of bearing the arms of a wife who is an heiress has also been introduced into Scottish heraldry, though Sir George Mackenzie (1680) disapproves of it.

The chapter under notice contains very full information respecting marshalling usages in Germany and other foreign states, amongst which is that of quarters divided by a cross.

* *The Old Heraldry of the Percys*, 1860.

† The escutcheon should rather have been in the honour-point, like those conceded to Marlborough and Wellington.

Something similar to this is found in Scottish heraldry, especially in the shield of the Earl of Caithness. This bears the insignia of his earldoms separated by a *cross engrailed sable*, which, on a field *argent*, was the ancient coat of the Sinclair family.

Chapter XVI. deals with 'Augmentations.' The earliest English instance appears to be of the time of Richard II. In speaking of the augmentation given to Sir John Clerk, who in 1513 took prisoner Louis of Orleans, Duke of Longueville, our author shews* that it did not consist of the Duke's arms, as alleged by many writers, but that it was a composition from the same. Probably no more was meant by Guillim when he said that 'the coat-armour of the Duke was given him, marshalled on a canton sinister in this manner.'† Camden certainly recognized the fact, adding to his description of the canton, 'for that no Christian may bear entirely the arms of a Christian whom he taketh in war.'‡ The grant by Edward VI. in 1553 to Thomas Lord Wharton for his conduct at Solway Moss, some ten years previously, is printed in *The Genealogist* for October 1891. The augmentation is '*a border engrailed gold, remplished with lyons legs in saltire, rased gules, armed azure*,' being portions of the Scottish lion. This augmentation is described by our authors,§ but, like other writers, they omit to notice that the bordure should be engrailed. Lord Wharton bore, as his dexter supporter, a *lion rampant gules, fretty or*—the Scottish lion in a net! We add a characteristic and beautiful instance of an augmentation which seems but little known. Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth in Scotland, was in 1644 created Earl of Brentford in England, and on the 26th of March in the next year the augmentation referred to was granted to him. His arms were *Paly of six, argent and gules*, with a crescent for difference. The crescent was doubtless superseded by the augmentation, which was, *On a canton or, a red rose and thereupon a white rose, both of England, within a tressure of Scotland.*||

* *Treatise*, Vol. II., p. 529.

† *Display*, p. 260, ed. 1611.

‡ *Remaines*, p. 165, ed. 1623.

§ *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 376.

|| *Ruthven Correspondence*, Roxburgh Club, 1868, p. xxxv.

In Chapter XVII. Mr. Woodward discusses 'Heraldic Marks of Illegitimacy.' One mode of marking it in the fourteenth century, and later, was by placing the father's arms or cognizances upon a bend. Thus John de Beaufort, eldest son of John Duke of Lancaster, before his legitimation bore *Per pale argent and azure, with the arms of Lancaster upon a bend*. After his legitimation he bore *France and England quarterly, with a bordure componé argent and azure*, the livery colours of the House of Lancaster, which shews sufficiently that the border componé was not then deemed a mark of bastardy any more than it was in the case of the Duke of Burgundy. An illegitimate descendant of this family, Charles Earl of Worcester (1514-26), bore the arms last described with a baton, or bendlet sinister, argent, which did not pass over the bordure. His eldest son relinquished the baton and placed the Beaufort arms upon a broad fess in a golden shield. His posterity soon relinquished this way of bearing, and resumed the Beaufort coat as borne after the legitimation—it does not appear by what authority. Various other modes of distinguishing illegitimate descent have been adopted in different lands, as is very fully stated by our author.

Chapter XVIII. refers to 'Badges.' These were in many cases family distinctions before—in some instances long before—the rise of coat-armour. The fleur-de-lis (flower of Loys) first appears on coins of Louis VI. of France (1108-37). Louis VII. (1137-80) used a single flower. The flory shield was not borne till later; and in Scotland Sir John Montgomery sealed with one fleur-de-lis in 1175; and his descendants took three such flowers for their arms. When coat-armour came into general use, badges or cognizances were still retained, and multiplied. Very many badges are recorded.* Some were afterwards turned into crests, sometimes improperly, as in the case of the cresset of Compton (derived from Berkeley), although the Comptons had a real crest. Cognizances do not seem to have been much used in Scotland. The badges of several families are knots of various forms; some

* See the cognizances on the numerous standards described in *Excerpta Historica*, and the list of badges printed by Mr. Planché (pp. 182-187) from a MS. of the time of Edward IV.

of them are supposed to represent letters. It should be borne in mind that badges or cognizances are essentially distinct from crests (which should never be separated from the helm), and that they are far more suited for use in connection with liveries. They were in days of old often embroidered upon the sleeves of retainers, and the revival of this practice would be commendable. In connection with this subject livery collars are briefly discussed by our author.

Chapter XIX. begins the treatment of 'External Ornaments' with 'Helm and Crest, Wreath, Crest-Coronet, and Lambrequins.' The absurdly complicated rules respecting helms which have been introduced in modern times would be 'more honoured in the breach than the observance.' It would generally be well to employ sidelong helms for all ranks beneath the crown, and to make the mantling of the livery colours. This has been done with excellent effect in the new stained glass at Lincoln's Inn, and the same practice appears to be getting into general use.

The *mantle*, *mantling*, or *lambrequin*, sometimes appears in the shape of a cloak or robe, including the whole achievement, but more frequently in the form of a covering for the helm, which covering being torn to rags often resembles foliage. When like a robe it was frequently charged on the outside (occasionally also on the lining) with armorial devices: when in the shape of a covering or of foliage it was of the principal colour or colours of the arms to which it belonged, lined with white or gold. Knights and those of higher rank usually lined their lambrequins with ermine. The modern practice, which would make all mantlings to be red lined with white * is censured by our authors, and may with advantage be ignored. The royal mantling of Edward IV. was thus tinctured; that of Elizabeth was generally of gold lined with ermine, and her example has been followed to the present day.

The *wreath* should usually be of the chief metal and colour of the arms; it is occasionally of three or more tinctures, and several anomalous examples are mentioned by our author, who with much truth observes that the modern wreath is mostly very badly

* This has been the usage both in England and in Scotland.

drawn. It should be circular, resting upon the summit of the helm, and not projecting from it. The number of pieces visible is generally six.

The *crest-coronet* (as it was happily designated by Boutell) is used in special cases, by usage or by grant, instead of the wreath. Our author describes it as having generally four foliations: we believe it more frequently has only three. The crest-coronet of Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Stafford, 1460, upon his stall-plate at Windsor is per pale sable and gules, his livery colours. His mantling is also per pale sable and gules, lined with ermine.

The *chapeau*, or cap of maintenance, is borne by certain families instead of the wreath. The *crest* is rightly regarded as inseparable from the helm and mantling, and should always turn the same way as the former. Our authors have some remarks, severe but just, on the violation of this rule at Windsor. When several crests are borne in connection with one shield they should face each other, except the central crest, if any, which in this case should, with its helm, be full faced.

Chapter XX. proceeds to a discussion of 'Crowns and Coronets.' A great number of imperial and royal crowns are here described, as well as the coronets used by nobles of various ranks in Britain and in continental states. We do not however find any reference to the coronets, if any, which should be used by holders of peerage titles by courtesy, as, for example, by a titular Marquess who is the son and heir-apparent of a Duke. We believe that in strictness no coronet at all belongs to such an one, unless indeed he has been summoned to the Upper House by his father's inferior title. It would however seem reasonable that a titular Marquess, Earl, Viscount, or Baron, should be allowed the coronet pertaining to the title which he bears by courtesy; but it certainly ought to be in some way distinguished from the coronet pertaining to a peerage. It does not appear that this case has ever been provided for. In this and in other particulars there is much anomaly in actual practice. The younger sons of a Duke or a Marquess should not on principle use any coronet at all.

In the complete achievement of a peer it has long been customary to place the coronet immediately above the shield, but beneath, or rather in front of the helm (*i.e.* between it and the spec-

tator). This has been the ordinary practice at least since the earlier part of the reign of James I.,* and it is so well settled that it seems generally undesirable to depart from it. This arrangement is adopted in all the later stall-plates: the earlier ones, and seals of the same period, usually omit the peer's coronet. The coronet should however be drawn without the cap. This practice might be superseded by the plan which has been adopted in the royal family, of placing the coronet upon the helm, and the crest upon the coronet. A still better arrangement would be to encircle the helm with the coronet, and to place the crest (with wreath, chapeau, or crest-coronet,) upon the helm. In some representations of the arms of royal princes engraved during the last century, the coronet is absurdly represented twice. It should be observed that in the cases of the sovereign and royal princes, the chapeau on which the lion statant was formerly placed has given place to the crown or coronet; but to omit the chapeau or crest-coronet in the case of a peer would be inexpedient. Another possible arrangement, suitable in certain cases, is to place the coronet of a peer above the helm and crest.

Chapter XXI. deals with 'Supporters,' as also with *compartments*, the *cordelière*, etc. The practice of England, Scotland, and Ireland with reference to supporters has always been more definite than that of many other countries. The only question which occurs to us is, whether supporters ought to be used by the sons of peers and of others who have an unquestioned right to them, or whether they should be limited to the heads of families. Our conviction is that, if borne at all by others, it should be only by heirs apparent, and not by them without the difference of a label. Supporters should always have something solid to stand upon, whether a compartment or a grassy bank. For armed men or rampant lions to stand upon a ribbon, as we often see them, is preposterous.

Chapter XXII. describes 'Flags, Banners, Standards, etc.' (The cut at the head of this chapter represents a standard, not a banner, as by mistake it is labelled.) Under 'National Flags'

* It is exemplified in Guillim's *Display*, 1611, where however the Baron has no coronet, none having then been assigned to noblemen of that rank.

we have notices of the banners of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick. The two former are ancient, the last very modern. Mr. Woodward says, 'I am not aware of its appearance any way as a national ensign until it was made part of the insignia of the Order of St. Patrick upon its foundation in 1783.'* This agrees with the conclusion of the present writer, who has traced the history of St. Patrick's cross in two articles printed in 1883.† For above a century before the foundation of the Order the banner of Ireland was *Or, a cross gules*, being the arms of the De Burgh family, Earls of Ulster. In another place‡ our author describes the official arms of Ulster King of Arms as '*Argent, the cross of St. George*,' etc. This should be, *Or, a cross gules*, etc. The saltire, now called St. Patrick's cross, is that of the FitzGerald, Dukes of Leinster. The present Union Jack, our national flag since 1801, is a bungling, unsymmetrical combination of the ancient banners of St. George and St. Andrew, with that now attributed to St. Patrick. Sir Harris Nicolas has shewn that by a very slight alteration it would be rendered consistent with the laws of heraldry and with principle.§ In all banners, standards, and other flags, it is understood that animals, bends, and all charges which have a difference of right and left, look towards the flag-staff; in other words that the flag itself is, as it were, transparent. Through neglect of this rule we have seen the royal banner misrepresented in otherwise excellent stained glass. The example which we have in view is in the ancient hall of the municipality of Dover.

Chapter XXIII. is headed 'Miscellaneous,' under which are treated the 'Royal Arms of England,' 'National Arms,' and some other matters. Here we find a specific notice of 'Armes Parlantes' or 'Canting Arms,' which, however, are more or less referred to almost everywhere throughout the work. The great extent to which ancient arms are allusive to their bearers' names is perhaps not fully recognised even by those who have paid

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 143.

† *The Genealogist*, Vol. VII., pp. 129, 239.

‡ *Treatise*, Vol. II., p. 526.

§ *On the Union Flag*. London, 1832.

most attention to the subject. The allusion frequently depends on local terms or words which have long been obsolete; sometimes upon still more recondite circumstances. Some have wondered why so many families named Green bear three golden bucks upon a ground of *blue*. The reason is, either that the arms originally belonged to a family called Boketon (or Buckton) and were taken by a Green on his marriage with the heiress of that family, or else that a Boketon, for some other reason, changed his name to Green, retaining his own arms. To the Cornish family of Moyle is generally attributed *Gules, a mule passant argent*.* This would do very well for what is called a canting-coat, but we believe the allusion is still more exact, and that the mule ought to be an ox, formerly in Cornwall styled a *moyle*. The *cats* in the arms or crests of Caterall, Catton, Catryke, Pudsey, and Pusey, fall within the same category, and so do the *cat-a-mountains* of the family of Hill, Marquess of Downshire. The cat crests of Macintosh, Macpherson, and Macbean refer to their connection with the Clan Chattan. In like manner several of the Allans, Allens, and Allensons, bear talbots, or rather *aland*s, or their heads. The *maunch*, or lady's sleeve, is borne by several families in allusion to their names, as Mohun, Moun, Moon, and Mansel. The latter, being a diminutive in form, bears three little maunches (*manchelles*). This last example clearly shows that the device may have no reference to the meaning of the name but only to its sound.

Some extreme examples of bad heraldry are noticed and censured in these volumes. Many others might be cited from the arms of the peerage and baronetage of the United Kingdom, but we forbear to do so. It is surprising that the unfortunate inheritors of such debased insignia do not take steps for their reformation. In the case of the Lords Petre, certain additions of the Tudor period have long since been abandoned, and their beautiful ancestral coat is borne in its original simplicity.

In this department of archæology as in others, the student has

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 237.

need to be upon his guard against forgeries. Guillim* states the substance of a document in Norman-French, purporting to be a grant of arms by James Hedingley, Guyen King of Arms, to Peter Dodge, dated 8th April, 34 Edward I. (A.D. 1306). This, at least as regards the date, is obviously fictitious, though the arms described appear to have been borne in Kent and Norfolk at a later period.† There is also no lack of spurious genealogy. In the time of Queen Elizabeth there was a person named William Dawkyns, or Dakyns, who became notorious as a 'dealer in armes and maker of false pedigrees,' for which offence he lost one of his ears and suffered imprisonment. The names of nearly a hundred families are mentioned for whom he compiled such pedigrees, chiefly resident in the counties of Essex, Hertford, and Cambridge.‡ He appears also to have plied his trade in Yorkshire.§ We have in our possession a roll containing a long pedigree of Benson, with numerous illuminated coats of arms, commencing A.D. 1109 and extending to the middle of the last century. Until about the time of Queen Elizabeth it is manifestly unauthentic. We believe it to be in the main the same that was shown by Sir William Benson, sheriff of London, knighted in 1706,|| and we think there is little doubt that it is, for the most part, the handiwork of the above-named Dawkyns. It is well known that the trade which he followed is not yet extinct.

That notoriously prevalent abuse, the unauthorized assumption by other people of the arms of gentle families, is opposed alike to private rights and to historical veracity. To this, more than to anything besides, must be attributed the low esteem into which heraldry—one of the most useful handmaids of history—has too generally fallen. Its value depends on its reality; if a coat of arms be a false assumption, it is simply contemptible. The wrongful assumption of a coat is both untruthful and unjust—untruthful because it amounts to a false, or at least unproved,

* *Display*, 1632, p. 256.

† *Visitation of Norfolk*, Harl. Soc., 1891, p. 107.

‡ Noble's *History of the College of Arms*, p. 162.

§ *The Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1584-5, edited by Joseph Foster, pp. 466, 479, etc.

|| Le Neve's *Knights*, Harl. Soc., 1873, p. 494.

pretension to descent ; unjust because it is (though often unintentionally) an infringement of the rights of others. It is an act similar in kind, though different in degree, to the unwarranted assumption of a contested peerage. Through this abuse public buildings, sepulchral monuments, and movable possessions, are too often falsely labelled, and so rendered worthless, if not positively illusive, as records of the past. This abuse prevails, we believe, more in England than in Scotland, where there are some legal checks to it. But wherever it exists, there are at hand very simple remedies which, under the direction of the able and courteous gentlemen who hold office in the three capitals, might speedily become more effectual than all the visitations and penal laws of old, and would at the same time largely increase the influence and prosperity of the colleges. What is chiefly needed is an official calendar, published at intervals of about five-and-twenty years, with an occasional supplement, and containing, under verbal blazons of the several coats, the names and descriptions of all persons in England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies (male adults at least) entitled to use them. The existence in print of such a calendar would shortly put an end to all unauthorized assumptions, for no one would be considered as entitled (unless under a recent grant or certificate) whose name or whose father's name was not recorded in its columns. As the various professional lists and directories are safeguards against false pretensions in their respective spheres, so this calendar would be in matters of genealogy and armory. In addition thereto it would be very useful if there were an official gazette (or more than one) of all heraldic matters, especially if the authorities would therein denounce any false pretensions, such for example as those connected with the monument of an Oldfield at Chester and the 'Dearden chapel' at Rochdale, so ably exposed by the late Mr. Courthope, *Somerset Herald*, in the pages of old *Sylvanus Urban*, forty years ago.*

The two volumes before us contain 56 plates, for the most part in gold, silver, and colours, besides many illustrations in the text. By the use of gold the arms are much enriched, but we confess

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb., 1852.

that we should have preferred the omission of the silver, notwithstanding the fact that in stall-plates and on other metallic surfaces it is often used for white. We have already expressed an opinion that whilst protesting against armorial distinctions of too refined a character, we are in danger of erring in the way of laxity. We are not sure that our authors have always borne this fact in mind. 'The familiar words of the Latin accidence, *Brevis esse laboro, fio obscurus*,'* should never be forgotten by the armorist. We have noticed some *errata*, but upon the whole are surprised to find that in a work dealing with innumerable facts both great and small there are so few. We must in conclusion express our high opinion of the great value of this treatise to all who are interested, whether scientifically, artistically, or historically, in the subject which it so well describes and illustrates.

H. GOUGH.

ART. II.—THE CANARY ISLANDERS.

On the Ancient Language of the Natives of Tenerife. By JOHN MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T. A paper contributed to the Anthropological Section of the British Association. 1891.

Estudios Históricos Climatológicos y Patológicos de las Islas Canarias. Por D. GREGORIO CHIL Y NARANJO. Las Palmas. 1880.

Conquest of the Canary Islands. G. GLAS. 1764.

Cinq Années de Séjour aux Isles Canaries. R. VERNEAU. Paris. 1891.

THE traveller who leaves the picturesque ravines and bright cane fields of Madeira and passes south through the calm seas where the seven 'Fortunate Isles' rise rugged and desolate, and where, like Atlas or Hermon, the great peak of Tenerife casts its long shadow 'far o'er the western foam,' might well be surprised to learn how large a literature has

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 107.

been devoted to the history of the little group of extinct volcanos, and how eager have been the controversies concerning the origin of its ancient populations, and their relation to the story of man's diffusion over the face of the earth. The question has just been brought prominently to notice by the paper which Lord Bute read last year at Cardiff at the meeting of the British Association, when he discussed the various views held, especially with respect to the Island of Tenerife; and without committing himself to any particular opinion, called the attention of antiquaries to a subject of no little interest, and to the exhaustive labours of Dr. Chil regarding his native land.

The Canary Islands are no less than 800 miles distant from the nearest point in Europe—at Gibraltar, and only sixty miles from Cape Juby in Africa, so that, according to natural laws of the diffusion of race, it is to the north-western shores of the great African continent that we should look for the origin of the native population. This, however, has not prevented theorists from supposing that the race there found by the Spanish conquerors was of European origin, or even that the natives of Tenerife were akin to the Indians of North America. It is here proposed to enquire into the existing information, which enables us to form some opinion on the subject—information which is based on anthropological and linguistic facts, rather than on the meagre historic data which can be gathered from ancient accounts.

Two thirds of the area of the islands are said to be covered with calcined rock, pumice stones, and ashes. The volcano of Lancerotta was still active in 1734 A.D., and the crater of Tenerife had then only become extinct some few years. In the Grand Canary there have been no eruptions since the fifteenth century, but the 'Goat Mountain' in Palma was in eruption as late as 1677 A.D., when the population was terrified also by earthquakes. But in spite of the desolate character of the greater portion of the islands, and the want of water in several, neither climate nor natural disadvantages forbade the early settlement of man in the more favoured parts of the land. Grand Canary is comparatively well watered and

wooded. The higher mountains, including the great peak of Tenerife which rises some 12,000 feet from the sea, are covered for more than half the year with snow, and the clouds which gather on the summits bring rain, and in winter hail. The palm grows on the coasts, but on the upper slopes the pitch pine (which gave resin for the preparation of the native mummies) is found, and even the beech tree according to Glas; while wine has long been one of the exports, with the sugar of the cane fields, honey, and the orchilla weed, from which a valuable dye is extracted. The best known representative of the native fauna is the African songster whose name is derived from the Canary island itself.

The Carthaginians were probably the first of ancient civilised nations to discover this remote group of islands. It is clear from Hanno's account of his voyage that he must have passed near them on his way to the Gold Coast, in the palmy days of the Phœnician commerce, and the volcanos which he saw may well have been those which were still active so much later in Tenerife, Grand Canary, and Gomera. It has been disputed whether Cerne, the island where the Carthaginians traded with African tribes, was one of the group, but the probabilities seem to be in favour of this view. Herodotus (IV. 195) had heard vaguely of this island beyond the pillars of Hercules, as abounding in olives and vines, and gold dust found in lakes. Hanno visited Cerne, which was as far from the pillars as Carthage was to the east—a measurement which very exactly agrees with the situation of the group; and here in later times the Carthaginians exchanged Egyptian products for skins, fleeces, and ivory. But to the Greeks and Romans these remote regions long remained unknown, save by the tales brought back by the Semitic sailors. The Atlantis of Plato was a fairy land, which some have been tempted to suppose is now covered by the ocean; the geologist points out that the fossils of the Canaries, at a height of 3000 feet above the sea, are marine, and that the depth of the sea off the coasts is not less than 15,000 feet, so that if the islands had sunk down—as the believers in Atlantis profess to show—they must originally have presented mountains much higher than Mount Everest,

whereas the evidence of modern science tends to shew that the group was due—as in other cases—not to the sinking of the mainland, but rather to the rise of volcanic peaks from the ocean bed. Atlantis must therefore be regarded as a dream, and it is not till after the Christian era that the Canaries are noticed by Pliny and Plutarch. If we may believe the former they were uninhabited in his time, though traces of former habitations existed (*Hist. Nat.*, VI. xxxvii.) This account agrees with the actual flora of the Canaries, not only in the notice of palms and pine trees, but also in the description of a tree giving water from its leaves, which applies to the sacred tree of the island of Hierro, which is said to distil the moisture of the mountain mists in such quantity as to be useful for drinking. Grand Canary was famous for its large dogs, whence, according to a perhaps doubtful etymology of Pliny's, it took its name. Juba the younger (the Numidian monarch), had obtained, he says, two of them, when in the reign of Augustus he sent an expedition from the mainland to explore the islands. Whether these dogs were wild we are not told, but it is quite possible that the natives retreated inland on seeing the Roman ships, and that their islands were not really uninhabited. This at least was their policy in the later times of Norman and Spanish attacks.

The early Arab accounts of the islands are vague and doubtful, but there can be little doubt that the native race found by the Normans had established itself before the time of the Arab conquest of North Africa, since the religion and religious nomenclature of Islam were never known to them. The Berbers were reduced by the Khalif 'Othman after forty years of struggle, at the end of the 7th century of our era, so that at latest the natives of the Canaries must have arrived a thousand years before the time of the Spanish Conquest. In all probability, however, they must have been established there in much earlier times. The first Europeans to re-discover the Fortunate Isles were the Genoese. Lancelot Maloisel reached them in the end of the thirteenth century, and in 1339 for the first time the island of Lancerotta appears with Fuertaventura on a map. The former seems to have been named from Lance-

lot himself, the second from his adventure. Two years later, by order of Alphonso IV. of Portugal, an expedition visited the group, and one of the most important series of data concerning the native language is derived from the account of this visit preserved by Boccacci.

It was not till 1402 A.D. that any of the islands were conquered by the adventurers from the north. Jean de Béthencourt, a Norman serving Henry III. of Castile, made himself master of the four smaller, where his family long after ruled; but the subjugation of the larger islands was effected by the Spaniards. Grand Canary was subdued in 1483 A.D., Palma in 1492, and Tenerife held out till the close of the fifteenth century. Earlier raids had been unsuccessful. The Spaniards from Majorca appeared at the Canaries in 1360, and Norman ships had already reconnoitred them a few years later. The prize such as it was fell finally to Spain, but the resistance was long and desperate.

English interest in the Fortunate Isles appears to date back to the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. Thomas Nicolas wrote a MS., still preserved at Laguna, dating from 1521 A.D.; and 'a pleasant description' of the same was published in London in 1583. Twelve years later an English raid on Fuertaventura and Lancerotta occurred, and English ships appeared again in the eighteenth century. The very valuable account by George Glas, who made many voyages in the group is mentioned at the head of this paper. He translated the account of the Norman conquest by Abreu de Galindo, written in 1632 A.D., and adds the result of his own researches, with many directions to the traders, who were then visiting the islands for wine, sugar, and the orchilla weed.

Dr. Chil has reproduced a primitive and most delightful map of the African coast and of the Fortunate Islands dating as early as 1413 A.D. As great part of the mainland is occupied by the seated figure of a negro ogre, with a Norman crown and sceptre, to whom approaches a Moorish monarch, on a camel much too small for him. In the midst of the Canaries is shewn the 'ship of Jacme Ferrer,' with the date of his voyage in 1346 A.D. The ship is considerably larger than all the

islands put together, but the seven are shewn approximately in their correct relative positions, and with the names now known, except Tenerife, which has the Spanish name *Isola del Inferno*.*

The story of the conquest has little to attract us. It is the common tale of a native population (in this case a very brave and noble race though primitive in religion and culture) gradually yielding to the 'resources of civilization,' or in other words, to the combined treachery and firearms of greedy and unscrupulous adventurers, and somewhat later to the arguments of the Inquisition. The history of some of our own colonies forbids us, however, from being the first to cast a stone at the Spaniards; and it appears inevitable that the adventurers who are the first to gain a footing in such countries, should be the least reputable representatives of the civilised lands whence fortune has driven them. From the time of the conquest onwards the annals of the Canaries are uneventful. The native race was certainly not extinct in 1658 A.D., and Dr. Verneau recognises the Guancho type in the peasantry of to-day; but a corsair raid in 1618 almost depopulated Lancerotta, and the peculiar customs and language of the Guancho or native race were gradually stamped out, as the European settlers increased in numbers and in power.

To the Spanish historians of the conquest we owe all that can now be known of this ancient population, and especially to the work already mentioned as translated by Glas, which dates from 1632 A.D., together with the *Ordenanças de la Isla de Tenerife*, by the Licenciado Don Jhoan Nunez de la Peña, of which the original MS., dating from 1670 A.D., is preserved in the library of Laguna in Tenerife. Still later is the work of Marin y Cubas (1694 A.D.), while Viera y Clavijo (1772 A.D.) and others appear to be mainly dependent—as far at least as regards the account of the native inhabitants—on the earlier mentioned works. It appears, therefore, that the Spanish

* For the perusal of Dr. Chil's important work (2 vols. quarto) and of others mentioned in this paper I am indebted to the kindness of Lord Bute.

writers in question wrote while the native language was still in use at Candelaria; and they have preserved the meaning of about 180 Guancho words, giving in addition sixteen sentences of various lengths, with their meanings. These are the materials from which alone we can now hope to know anything of Guancho speech, for the researches undertaken for Lord Bute by Mr. de Grey Birch, appear to show that the zeal of Dr. Chil has gathered up all the available material, leaving probably nothing for others to add.

Before treating of the language, it is however important to note what is known of the racial type, the civilisation, customs, and religion, of the Guanchos, and to state the conclusions which anthropologists have reached from such investigation.

We are often told that language is no test of race, and this has indeed become a kind of scientific catch-word, whereby anthropologists sometimes excuse themselves from pursuing the dry study of grammar and comparative philology. It may be doubted if this distinction has not been exaggerated, for no nation is known willingly to have abandoned its mother tongue: the great stocks in our own days speak the same languages which they spoke at the dawn of history, five thousand years ago (due allowance being made for the decay of words), and the most that can certainly be said is that languages die out when the stocks that spoke them become extinct, or at least a diminished remnant amid a large conquering population of some other race. If any axiom is safe regarding such obscure questions as those of the diffusion of races, it is that the labours of anthropologists and philologists are alike rendered difficult by the very early mixture of races and by the very early appearance of foreign words in languages. In Babylonia and in Egypt we trace such mixture back to the earliest times, and the prehistoric races of Europe present the same problem. Professor Virchow quite recently warned younger students of the dangers of formulating theories on the scanty evidence afforded by prehistoric remains, and holds that the last twenty years have been remarkable rather for the relinquishment of former conclusions than for advance to final results. It is not by the exclusive use of one method, but

rather by combining every source of knowledge, that we can hope to arrive at real understanding of the antiquities of any people.

The method of the anthropologist has moreover the disadvantage that the skull and skeleton can only tell us a very little concerning the living man. We cannot know from them the colour of his eyes, of his hair, or of his complexion. The jaws cannot reveal to us what language he spoke, and the tomb tells us but little, in most cases, of his customs and beliefs. Nevertheless, the evidence of the skeleton is of high importance in the study of race, where race is pure, and especially so in remote islands where the admixture is generally less than on the continents. But a gap may often occur in such evidence, when races who burned the dead have succeeded, or been mingled with, burying people. The Celts of the Bronze Age at home, and the Romans in Italy, are instances of important races of whom the tombs can tell us very little.

The Guanchos of the Canary Islands were not only a burying race, but down to the time of the conquest they appear to have continued to make mummies, if not of all, at least of the nobler of their dead. The researches of M. Verneau and of Dr. Chil (who gives no less than eighteen pages of measurements of native skulls) have resulted in very definite conclusions as to the character of the racial type in the Canaries. They have also apparently shewn that more than one stock existed before the conquest—a Semitic people, apparently of Arab origin, being represented by some of the skulls, side by side with the true Guanchos who were found in all the islands alike. Three of these skulls were exhibited in London in 1887 representative of different types.* The first, which was that of a man of the true Guancho race, presented a long head with a low forehead, narrow beneath and broader above. The eye orbits were large and square, and the cheek-bones prominent. The nose was short, straight, and thick; the teeth pro-

* H. Wallach, *Journal Anthropol. Instit.*, Vol. XVII. No. 2, November, 1887.

jecting, but the jaw did not resemble that of the negro. The Guanchos appear from the skeletons to have been tall and athletic (as the Spanish chronicles also tell us), and the skull gives evidence of considerable power and energy, being remarkable for its great length, and for the combination of a low yet well developed forehead with brain capacity—a people we should imagine energetic and intelligent, but not gifted with high intellectual attainments; and, as such, the Guanchos appear in the history of their extermination. The other skulls were respectively those of a woman, and of a young man of Arab race, and the latter class appears to be found chiefly in the Grand Canary, Palma, and Hierro. In the 18th century Glas informs us that the population was a mixed one, Moorish captives being intermingled with the few remaining Guanchos and with the descendants of Spaniards and Normans. It is not improbable that even before the conquest some admixture had taken place, but the ancient cave tombs in the mountains have yielded many remains of the mummies of pure Guancho race, such as those above described.

Opinion naturally differs as to the complexion of the Guanchos. Dr. Verneau holds that they were a blue eyed fair people: others have considered them to be very dark. The Berber population of North Africa gives us, close at hand in our own times, an African race fair and blue eyed among the Kabyles; and the monuments of Egypt depict the 'White Libyans' with the same complexion more than 3,000 years ago. Two Guancho proper names are mentioned, one of which means the 'brown' or 'swarthy,' and the other 'the white,' so that the evidence even of language is conflicting. The admixture of Semitic or Negro blood might however have caused considerable variation in later times as regards the complexion.

As regards comparative study of the very marked type of the Guancho skulls, Berthelot, writing in 1879, states that they resemble those of the later Egyptian mummies. Dr. Verneau, who states that the type still survives in the remoter hamlets, has compared it to the so called 'Cromagnon race' of France Spain and Italy, which is referred to palæolithic times. Dr.

Chil's conclusions, from his numerous measurements, are to the effect that this long headed race of the Canaries may be compared, not only with the prehistoric race of Southern Europe, but also with the Berbers of North Africa, and the Egyptians. These observations by no means conflict, for the comparison of the races north and south of the Mediterranean has been generally admitted by anthropologists to be important. Dr. Isaac Taylor who gives these races the name of Iberians* also compares the Guancho skulls with that of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort of the reindeer period in Europe, and with skulls from Gibraltar. 'The Guanchos of Tenerife,' he says 'must be regarded as an isolated branch of the Berber race, preserving in great purity the primitive type and mode of life.' Some of the Guancho mummies, of which he says most European museums have specimens, appear to have been light haired, like the Berber Kabyles and Tuariks, but the race generally he supposes to have been dark. He also admits the resemblance of Berber and Guancho skulls to those of the ancient Egyptians, while the Cromagnon skeletons are he says a link between Berbers and Negroes. In later times the Iberian race is supposed to have extended along both shores of the Mediterranean, being found in Italy and the islands, in Spain, France and even in parts of England (but not in Germany) as well as throughout the regions which extend from Egypt to the Canaries. The evidence of trained anthropologists therefore points to the very natural conclusion, that the Guanchos came from North Africa, to the western shores of which the islands are so close, rather than from the distant regions of France and Spain, which the Iberians reached through Italy, as the northern branch of the long-headed race whose earliest civilisation we find in Egypt. The evidence of language, as we shall see later, points to the very same conclusion, showing that, in cases when a pure type is met, the results of philology and anthropology do not conflict.

The religious and social customs of the Guanchos, of which the Spanish writers have given many interesting particulars,

* *Origin of the Aryans.* London, 1889, p. 92.

seem also to point to the same conclusion, when compared with the notices found in Herodotus of the Libyan tribes between Egypt and Mount Atlas, including the Cabales, in whom we may probably recognise the ancestors of the modern Kabyles. The Libyans, though on the east they were influenced by Egypt, appear to have been a savage race mainly of hunters and nomads. They were in some instances—like the Guanchos themselves—troglodytes or cave-dwellers: their dress was of goat's leather like the Guancho dress; and like the latter they painted their bodies with vermilion. They sacrificed to the sun and moon, and appear to have honoured certain vestals (Herod IV. 180), as did also the Guanchos; but in both cases the relations of the sexes seem to have been very imperfectly regulated. In later times the influence of the Carthaginians, whose alphabet the Numidians adopted, must have been very considerable all along the African coasts, and may even have affected the Libyan languages, as that of the Arabs did afterwards, to a very considerable extent; but the Guancho mummies serve to connect the race rather with the ancient Egyptians than with any Semitic people.

The practice of preparing mummies was common to all the Canary Islands, but many bodies were buried without being so prepared. The entrails and the brain were in many cases never removed, as Dr. Chil has shewn, though in others a stone knife was used to open the body as in Egypt. The corpse was washed in salt water, and with aromatic herbs, and embalmed with butter, after which it was steeped in resin from the pitch pine found in the islands, and dried with pumice stone powder—also found in abundance. Sage and lavender were used as aromatics, with the bark of the pine and other siccatives. The body was then wrapped in skins, sometimes as many as seven or more being arranged with the finest inside. In Grand Canary, however, the wrappings were sometimes of reed matting, bound with palm leaves and fibres. The mummies were thus apparently as bulky as those of Egypt, and in some cases the coverings were painted. So prepared they were placed erect, or laid on trestles, in natural caverns in the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. These caves sometimes form

cemetries holding hundreds of corpses, and closed with great flagstones or by drystone walls. Very little has been found in them besides the mummies: a few vases and beads and sticks alone have been discovered; but in some of the islands vases filled with milk appear to have been left near the head of the mummy—a custom common to many savage nations, as the remains of the sepulchral chambers in Guernsey shew in the case of a Scandinavian race. It is recorded that the Guanchos (who held life in little estimation) would sometimes desire to die, when they were walled up in the grottoes by their relatives, to perish of hunger.

The Guanchos were fond like the Egyptians of colour. They painted the walls of the caves in which they lived, and they painted their bodies like Egyptians, Hottentots, Etruscans, and other early peoples. The juices of various herbs were used by men and women alike to colour the skin red, yellow, or green, and certain stamps called *pintaderas* are supposed by M. Verneau to have been used, like those of Mexico, to impress patterns. They are of wood or pottery with patterns in relief, and of round or triangular form, seal shaped, so as to be easily used for such a purpose. In some cases remains of an ochre paint have been noticed upon them.

The Guanchos were not however savages. They possessed some knowledge of a lunar year, and a regularly constituted society of king, nobles, yeomen, and the lower class, who were believed to have been created by the deity, after their superiors, and for the purpose of serving them. The year consisted, like that of most primitive peoples, of twelve lunations. It was probably vague, and is said variously to have begun in June or in August. That the Guanchos had a complete system of numeration we shall see later.

There were many kings or chiefs in the islands, and Tenerife alone seems to have formed a single state. The king was assisted by a council. His power appears to have been hereditary, and he swore by the bone of his ancestor, which he placed on his head, to 'follow his example who formerly wore the crown and make his subjects happy.' By the same bone the nobles swore to be faithful to the royal family. The crown

was of goatskin adorned with shells, and in other cases the insignia consisted of a round wooden buckler painted red and white, or of a club rudely carved. A flag was carried before the king, and at his approach the people prostrated themselves, and wiped the dust from his shoes with their clothes. The nobles appear to have been usually of the royal family, but a military caste, distinguished by its long hair, was constituted from among those who were found worthy by public opinion. Polygamy existed among the upper class at least, and certain customs connected with hospitality are described, which are well known in Asia especially among Mongols, and among the Arabs before Islam. The laws appear to have been mild, only inflicting death for murder, but the ordeals found among so many primitive peoples were not unknown to the Guanchos.

The Guancho religion included the idea of a supreme god in heaven, and of a devil who appeared in the form of a shock dog, and whose abode seems to have been in the crater of Tenerife. They seem also to have had a female deity, and to have believed in ghosts and demons. Sorcerers and witches were not unknown to them, and priest and priestesses had considerable power. They had temples which they called the 'Houses of God,' and certain rude idols have been found in Grand Canary of wood and pottery.

One of the most remarkable of their institutions was that of the vestal virgins, called *Maguada* or *Harimaguada*, who lived in separate establishments, like nunneries, where they prayed, repeating the words *Amen Acoran*, 'Have mercy, O God,' in a chorus, accompanied with gesticulations. They were robed in long dresses of white leather, and undertook the education of girls, and the baptism or washing of infants. They went out only to bathe, and to make pilgrimages to shrines in the mountains. After a certain age they might marry with the king's consent, but were strictly secluded while remaining vestals. They are described in Grand Canary, but no doubt were found in other islands as well. This institution reminds us not only of the Roman vestals but also of the Libyan virgins described by Herodotus, and of the priestesses of ancient Egypt.

The Guanchos held fasts in times of drought and famine,

during which not only did men and women abstain from eating but even the flocks were made to mourn, being shut up without food. The pity of heaven was thus invoked not only by man but by the cries of dumb animals deprived of food. The vestals on such occasions bore palm branches, and walked in procession to the mountain tops, where they made libations of butter, and then descending to the sea-shores flogged the waves with their rods or branches. These customs also find their parallels in many of the rites of ancient races of the East. The ordinary sacrifice consisted of meat and entrails, of fruit and butter, and holocausts were offered on the mountain tops, where the remains of altars and the ashes and bones of animals have been found. Auguries were also derived from the direction of the smoke during such sacrifices.

Another ceremony, somewhat resembling that of the Jewish scape goat, consisted in the pretended discovery of a sacred pig, which was looked upon as an intercessor with the deity, and let loose when the prayers for rain were answered, as the Arabs used to let loose the camel, dedicated in fulfilment of a vow. In the island of Palma was a peaked rock to which sacrifices were made, apparently to prevent its crushing those who passed below. In some cases victims were cast down the precipices to propitiate this much feared natural pillar.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Guanchos were fond of dances and of songs. Two songs have been preserved, one from Grand Canary and one from Hierro, discovered with a Portuguese translation by M. Laon de Cessac. The dances seem to have resembled some of those so often described by African travellers.

At the time of the conquest the Guanchos seem to have been an illiterate people, and although inscriptions have been found in the island of Hierro it is by no means certain that they are of Guancho origin, nor do they appear to be known in the other islands with exception of Grand Canary. These inscriptions have been called Numidian, and compared with the coins and texts discovered by Faiderbe. The texts, however, recall the forms of the early alphabets of Greece and Italy in use before the Ionian and Roman letters became cus-

tomary. They are probably not Semitic, for they appear to be written *boustrophedon*, an arrangement not used by Semitic peoples, and in one case the lines of writing on a rock are vertical. There can be little doubt that they are alphabetic, but being very short, and the language unknown, they may perhaps never be read with certainty. In all probability they were the work of some foreign race of sailors from the Mediterranean. Some of the forms may also be compared with those of the so-called Celt Iberian alphabet, the origin and character of which are at present undetermined.

The use of metal appears to have been unknown to the Guanchos, who used flint and stone, and wooden spears hardened by fire. There were no cows in the islands at the time of the conquest, but only sheep and goats. Camels, horses, mules, asses, bullocks, and even hogs, are said to have been imported since the Spaniards occupied the group, as well as rabbits, and a kind of deer from Barbary. Barley was known, but wheat was first imported from Barbary by Don Diego de Herrera in the middle of the fifteenth century, and was called *Trichen* by the natives, which appears (as Glas points out) to be a corruption of the Spanish *trigo* for 'wheat.' These indications point to the isolation of the Guanchos at an early period, cut off from any communication with the main land, and according to Glas the islanders had no boats and did not even communicate between themselves, which isolation would naturally result in considerable differences of dialect in the different islands.

This brief summary of the character and customs of the native population of the Canaries is useful in considering the question of the language which they spoke, concerning which certain very remarkable indications may now be mentioned. We have seen that the population seems to have included two types, one apparently Berber and the other Semitic, and it is possible that it was mingled with other elements even before the time of the Norman conquest, for the Arab traders in all probability had reached the Fortunate Islands from the mainland of Africa or from the Mediterranean some centuries before any European ships arrived. In Gomera Jean de Béthencourt

found the natives able to speak Spanish, but this was due to the residence of a priest, who was left to instruct them by a Spanish expedition, some thirty years before his time.

The early authorities state that the languages of the different islands were not the same, and this was also stated by the interpreters of Béthencourt: they were inhabitants of Lancerotta and could not understand the speech of Grand Canary. But this circumstance hardly proves more than dissimilarity of dialect, since a native of Aberdeen might find himself considerably puzzled by the dialect of Cornwall or Devon. The known vocabulary of Tenerife includes about 85 words, and of these, according to our authorities, 34 were used in other islands, and some of the commoner terms occur in every island of the group. There appears therefore no reason to doubt that the mother tongue of the race was originally the same, though through isolation certain words had survived by preference in each island, out of several terms for one idea, while the difference of pronunciation seem to have been less marked than might have been expected.

The earliest expressed opinion as to the character of the language is that of Sir E. Scory in the time of Queen Elizabeth. 'The language of the old Guanchos,' he says, '(which remayneth to this day among them in this island in their town of Candelaria) alludeth much to that of the Moores of Barbary.' He does not however explain whether the compared tongue is Arabic or the native Berber. George Glas believed that the Guanchos were an African race—at least in the case of the inhabitants of Grand Canary—and he compared about a dozen Guancho words in a striking manner with Berber words the correctness of which is easily verified. He was however unfortunately responsible for an extraordinary theory as to the Tenerife language which must be stated in his own words (p. 172 note).

'The language in Tenerife at the time of the conquest had no affinity to those spoken in the rest of the islands; by the annexed specimen it seems to have some resemblance to the Peruvian or some other of the American tongues.'

Not only is the theory highly improbable in itself, but it

contradicts the statements of the Spanish authorities as to the 35 words already mentioned. When moreover we turn to the specimen we find that Glas offers no American comparisons, but on the contrary only treats four words; one (*Trichen*) Spanish, and three others which he compares with Berber and Mandingo terms. The conjecture might be passed unnoticed had not the theory been quite recently revived: it may however be considered to be disposed of very summarily by Lord Bute after due consideration of the Peruvian vocabulary. 'I must confess,' he says (p. 52), 'that I fail to see much in this to justify the idea of Mr. Glas that the Tenerifan language was Quiche.' The American agglutination languages resemble in structure rather the Turanian tongues of Asia than any western speech, and the Guancho inflexions and syntax as well as the Guancho vocabulary are entirely different. It is difficult to understand how so improbable a theory can have ever been put forward by any student of languages.

A second philological curiosity is represented by Franz von Loeher in his '*Las Germanas en las Canarias*.' According to this author the Vandals after their conquest by Belisarius passed into Morocco, and coming to the Canaries then inhabited by the Berbers were fused with them. This is supposed to be supported by some very forced comparisons of Guancho and German words, and the frequent use of the syllable *man* in Guancho speech is explained as referring to the Vandals. No attempt to explain the inflections, numerals, and other grammatical features of Guancho language is made, as Lord Bute has pointed out (p. 9), and it is well known to philologists that results resting solely on a few resemblances, real or fancied, in vocabulary, have little value in the absence of grammatical resemblance. There are at least 200 important roots and simple words which are the same in both Aryan and Turanian and also in Semitic speech, and which occur alike in the ancient Akkadian and in Egyptian, so that results due to vocabulary are apt to be misleading. A comparison of the persons of the verb, of the plural, the cases, and the numerals, of any two languages is the safest basis, since such parts of speech are very constant and also very distinctive. As a simple instance, the

construction of Aryan and Turanian languages is always the opposite of that found in Egyptian and Semitic speech when the genitive is formed by simple juxtaposition. As in English we say 'cow-boy,' so in Semitic speech we must invariably say 'boy-cow,' the genitive following instead of preceding, if there be no case suffix to be added. It is on such a basis that the Guancho language should be compared, and there can be no reasonable doubt that both as regards grammar, and also in vocabulary, the Berber languages at once yield remarkable results, and especially in the case of the numerals which are perhaps the most distinctive of all parts of speech—a fact which was pointed out by MM. Webb and Berthelot as long ago as 1842.*

Allusion has already been made to the MS. of the Magliabechi library of Florence, which was published in 1827 at Milan, in which Messer Gio Boccacci da Certaldo describes the voyage to the Canaries made in 1341 by the Portuguese, who brought back four natives with them. Among other interesting details a list is given of the numerals used in the islands, which in nearly every case appear to compare with the Berber numerals as follows:—

		GUANCHO.		BERBER.
1,	...	Nait,	...	Yan.
2,	...	Smetti,	...	Sen.
3,	...	Amelotti,	...	—
4,	...	Acodetti,	...	Akuos.
5,	...	Simusetti,	...	Summus.
6,	...	Sesetti,	...	Sez.
7,	...	Satti,	...	Set.
8,	...	Tamatti,	...	Tem.
9,	...	Alda Marava,	...	—
10,	...	Marava,	...	Marau.
11,	...	Nait Marava,	...	Yan-d-Marau.

This comparison is of great importance, and allowing for errors of transcription, Abreu Galindo gives the same sounds in most

* *Histoire Naturelle des Isles Canaries*, par MM. P. Barker Webb et Sabin Berthelot. Paris 1842. 3 vols. quarto. Cf. Chil I. p. 285. Verneau, p. 66.

cases, though he gives Arabic numerals for 4 and 5, perhaps in error or perhaps on account of an Arab element in the population already mentioned. Some thirty other words have also been compared in the same manner by Glas, Jackson, and Berthelot, some of which may here be enumerated :

Guancho, <i>Aho</i> , 'milk,' ...	...	Berber, <i>Aghi</i> , 'milk.'
„ <i>Tamocen</i> , 'barley,' ...	...	„ <i>Tomazen</i> , 'barley.'
„ <i>Tehuete</i> , 'leather dress,' ...	...	„ <i>Tahuyat</i> , 'blanket.'
„ <i>Amon</i> , 'water,' ...	...	„ <i>Aman</i> , 'water.'
„ <i>Almogaren</i> , 'temples,' ...	...	„ <i>Talmogaren</i> , 'temples.'
„ <i>Gayres</i> , 'chiefs,' ...	...	„ <i>M'gar</i> , 'great man.'
„ <i>Tamoganten</i> , 'houses,' ...	...	„ <i>Tigamen</i> , 'houses.'
„ <i>Achormaze</i> , 'green figs,' ...	...	„ <i>Tarkarmust</i> , 'figs.'
„ <i>Tigot</i> , 'heaven,' ...	...	„ <i>Tigot</i> , 'heaven.'
„ <i>Mencey</i> , 'king,' ...	Mandingo, <i>Mensa</i> , 'king.'	
„ <i>Ahico</i> , 'cloak,' ...	Berber, <i>Heik</i> and <i>Taheik</i> , 'cloak.'	
„ <i>Ahoren</i> , 'meal,' ...	„ <i>Ahoren</i> , 'meal.'	
„ <i>Azamatan</i> , 'crushed barley,' ...	„ <i>Azamutan</i> , 'crushed barley.'	
„ <i>Ara</i> , 'goat,' ...	„ <i>Ara</i> , 'goat.'	
„ <i>Achic</i> , 'son,' ...	„ <i>Akehik</i> , 'child.'	
„ <i>Adaer</i> , 'rock slope,' ...	„ <i>Adaar</i> , 'rock.'	
„ <i>Aguemene</i> , 'fern root,' ...	„ <i>Ajarmega</i> , 'mallow.'	
„ <i>Amodaja</i> , 'stick,' ...	„ <i>Amute</i> , 'stick.'	
„ <i>Asuquahe</i> , 'dark,' ...	„ <i>Askui</i> , 'black.'	
„ <i>Ife</i> , 'white,' ...	„ <i>Af</i> , 'white.'	
„ <i>Cariana</i> , 'basket,' ...	„ <i>Karian</i> , 'basket.'	

It would hardly be possible to argue that words for milk, water, heaven, clothing, child, goat, barley, and for colour, can be loan words in the Guancho language, especially when the evidence of the numerals supports the results so obtained. There are moreover several words which seem to have escaped attention and which I venture to compare as follows with words common to several Berber dialects.

Tenerife dialect, ...	<i>Chivato</i> , 'kid,' ...	Berber, <i>Ighid</i> , 'kid.'
„	<i>Sigone</i> , 'noble,' ...	„ <i>Sujenna</i> , 'lofty.'
„	<i>Zucaha</i> , 'daughter,' ...	„ <i>Ugzi</i> , 'son.'
Grand Canary dialect, ...	<i>Gama, gama</i> , 'stop, stop,' ...	„ <i>Kim</i> , 'stop.'
„	„ <i>Taguazen</i> , 'pig,' ...	„ <i>Ajig</i> , 'pig.'
„	„ <i>Tahaxan</i> , 'sheep,' ...	„ <i>Thiksi</i> , 'sheep.'
Lancerotta	„ <i>Enac</i> , 'night,' ...	„ <i>Ens</i> , 'to pass the [night.]'

„	„	<i>Tozio</i> , 'earthen ware,'	„	<i>Thizina</i> , 'plate.'
Fuertaventura,	„	<i>Ilfe</i> , 'pig,' ...	„	<i>Ilef</i> , 'pig.'
Palma	„	<i>Teofuiviti</i> , 'flesh,'	„	<i>Tefijji</i> , 'meat.'
Gomera	„	<i>Hana</i> , 'help,' ...	„	<i>Aan</i> , 'help.'
Hierro	„	<i>Tezzez</i> , 'barley,	„	<i>Thezzi</i> , 'to plant.'

These indications seem to shew that each of the seven dialects belongs to the Berber family of speech. Nor is the evidence confined to vocabulary: the plural, the formation of the feminine, the personal prefix and the termination of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular can be traced in the Guancho sentences, and agree in each case with the Berber forms. Such compounds as *Amen Acoran*, 'have mercy O God,' *Ben rimo*, 'son of the cripple,' *Tamoganten Acoran*, 'houses of God,' serve to shew clearly that the Guancho syntax was that of the Berber Egyptian and Semitic languages, and not that of the Aryan or Turanian languages. The grammatical investigation seems therefore to determine the Canary dialects as having a Berber foundation as well as a Berber vocabulary, and the linguistic evidence gives us the result we should expect as most natural, and which is in accord with the anthropological data.

It is however to be remarked that many of the Guancho words at once suggest a comparison with Arabic, and with the older Semitic languages, a comparison which (unless it be intended by the Elizabethan traveller who compares Guancho and Moorish speech) I have not as yet found noticed. Instances of this connection may be given as follows:—

Guancho, <i>Amen</i> , 'mercy,'	...	Arabic, <i>Aman</i> , 'mercy.'
„ <i>Acoran</i> , 'God,'	...	„ <i>Akharun</i> , 'eternal.'
„ <i>Acano</i> , 'year,'	...	„ <i>Senneh</i> , 'year.'
„ <i>Aguerre</i> , 'lake,'	...	„ <i>Jurah</i> , 'pool.'
„ <i>Ben</i> , 'son,'	... ..	„ <i>Ibn</i> , 'son.'

The second of these words is important, it was used in Grand Canary and Tenerife and appears in Gomera and Hierro as *Alcorac*. The Berber term for the Deity is the Arabic *Allah*, but the word *Akharit* for 'eternity' is still in use. *Akharun* for 'the Eternal' is used in Biblical Hebrew as well as in Arabic, and when we consider that the word *Ben* for 'son' is nearer to the

Hebrew *Ben* than to the Arabic *Ibn*, it would seem that these Semitic words may have come into the Guancho language from some earlier Semitic race than the Arabs—possibly from the Carthaginians—having either been learned before the migration from Africa or afterwards. The words for ‘year’ and ‘pool’ are also common to the older Semitic languages as well as to Arabic, and the word *Ben* for ‘son’ is found in Egyptian. Moreover there are four Guancho words at least that are very similar to Egyptian, namely:

Guancho, <i>Azo</i> , ‘mummy,’	...	Egyptian, <i>Xa</i> , ‘mummy.’
„ <i>Oche</i> , ‘lard,’	...	„ <i>Aza</i> , ‘fat.’
„ <i>Chamato</i> , ‘woman,’	...	„ <i>Hamt</i> , ‘woman.’
„ <i>Afaro</i> , ‘grain,’	...	„ <i>Per</i> , ‘corn.’

With regard to these words it is remarkable that the Guanchos not only resembled the ancient Egyptians in their custom of mummifying the dead, but also used the Egyptian word, while the word for ‘woman’ is probably one of the oldest in their language.

These various comparisons, all pointing to a connection with the African Continent, are not discordant with one another, although the Semitic terms might be explained as due to the intermixture of that Semitic race of which anthropologists recognise (as already explained) the existence in the Canaries, side by side with the Guanchos; but to explain this accord of the various indications it is necessary to consider very briefly the relations that are known to have existed between the Egyptian, Berber and Semitic languages.

The character of ancient Egyptian speech is still a matter of discussion among scholars. Very remarkable resemblances have been noted between early Aryan and Egyptian words, as also between the latter and the Turanian vocables. A large number of Semitic terms also appear in Egyptian, generally regarded as foreign, but including the names of colours, numbers, and others, which it is difficult to suppose would have been borrowed. The syntax and pronouns of the Egyptian are much nearer to Semitic speech than to either Aryan or Turanian, and the view held by the late Dr. Birch, and which

appears destined to prevail, is that Egyptian was remotely akin to the earliest Semitic speech. On the other hand, the connection of the Berber dialects with Coptic, and thus with Egyptian, has long been remarked, and was recognised from the first by Champollion, when he recovered the vocabulary of the ancient language. As instances of this connection we may quote the names for 'lion' (Egyptian, *tsam*; Berber, *izem*), for 'drink' (Egyptian, *sau*; Berber, *suu*), for 'river' (Egyptian, *alu*; Berber, *ilu*), for 'noise' (Egyptian, *anu*; Berber, *anau*), and verbs such as 'to die' (Egyptian, *met*; Berber, *amt*), 'slay' (Egyptian, *nak*; Berber, *nek*), with many others. If therefore the Guancho dialects belong to the Berber group, they are ultimately to be connected with Egyptian, so that the appearance of Egyptian words in Guancho is not improbable.

The Berber dialects resemble the Egyptian also in particles, and in the persons of the verb, but they contain on the other hand a very large number of pure Semitic words, in a proportion of nearly one fourth as compared with those peculiar to the original language. This intermixture in modern times is no doubt largely due to Arab influence, though it is remarkable that in some cases the words so borrowed are the same which appear to have been borrowed so much earlier in Egyptian. The appearance of Semitic words in Guancho is thus not unnatural, and they may very probably belong to a very early period. The general result of such an investigation seems to be that the Guancho dialects resemble the Berber, on the one hand in their connection with Egyptian, and on the other in the presence of a Semitic element in the vocabulary, due perhaps to an admixture of a Semitic stock with that strictly to be regarded as Guancho. The study of language thus leads us gradually to the same results that are derived from a study of race, and also to the final comparison suggested by Lord Bute (p. 53) who says that 'certain grammatical forms . . . might be interpreted as pointing in the same direction as Coptic.'

The study of the known sentences of the Guancho speech is rendered difficult by the fact that copyists' and other errors

occur in the transcriptions given by the Spanish authorities, which—even if we suppose them to have been familiar with the native language—leave us often in considerable doubt as to the real pronunciation of many of the words. The sentences are interesting in themselves as casting light on the beliefs and customs of the race as well as on the grammar of the language, but it is not proposed here to attempt to analyse them in their mutilated condition. One, however, may be given as an example, referring to the name of the place of settlement of certain colonists near Icod. The title in Guanche ran as follows—*Atzanatiquian abcanahac xerax*, which Nunez de la Peña translates ‘The place of union of the son of the great.’ This may be elucidated by aid of the Berber and the Egyptian as follows: *At*, ‘place;’ *zan*, ‘here;’ *gh*, ‘in;’ *an*, ‘of him;’ *bushil* (for *abcan*), ‘the son;’ *ak*, ‘the lofty;’ and *xers*, as in Egyptian ‘to unite,’ the whole having the proper Berber syntax, ‘The place of him, child of the great, uniting.’

Among the other sentences several refer to the native kings, including the oath by the bone of his ancestor, already mentioned. Others give titles of the deity, such as ‘the creator,’ ‘the great lord,’ ‘the supporter of heaven and earth,’ while the female divinity worshipped chiefly by women bore the title ‘mother of him who sustains the world.’ She was afterwards identified by the Guanches with the Virgin Mary, and one of their male deities with the Saviour. One of the Guanche proverbs or sayings is also remarkable: ‘May he live and feel the evils of fate,’ and another is pathetic; when lamenting their king they exclaimed, ‘The great father of the fatherland died and left the people orphans.’ The two Guanche songs preserved by a Portuguese writer do not appear to be well translated. The first is from Grand Canary and is rendered: ‘Welcome ye! the foreigners come to slay our mother, therefore let us be united; brother, since we are lost, I wish to marry.’ The second, from the island of Hierro, is a love song of some disconsolate Guanche maiden—

“What are you bringing? what do you bear?
What are milk, and water, and bread, to me
If Agarfa heeds me not?”

In these lines the words for mother, water, milk, and bread, alone are certain in the Guancho original, and are the same given by the Spanish historians.

To enter into a grammatical disquisition would be tedious, and it is perhaps sufficient to say that the formation of the noun, masculine and feminine, from the root, of the passive participle, and of the causative, together with the article and the personal suffixes, appear to be the same in the Guancho and Berber dialects, while the prefix for names of living things is *ach*, which appears to be the Berber *ig*, 'a person.' Several words are found in both masculine and feminine form, the latter usually distinguished by a prefixed *t*, which in other cases appears (as Lord Bute points out) to be the definite article—an explanation which also points to a Berber connection.

The vocabularies include many words in addition to those of religious import, which throw interesting light on Guancho manners. According to Glas, Tenerife or Chenerife means 'the white mountain,' and *ife*, we have seen, is the Berber *af*, 'white,' while *Teneri* in Berber means a 'desert.' The peak was also called Taraire, which recalls the Berber *adhrar*, 'mountain.' The devil who dwelt in the volcano was called *Huayota*, the first syllable meaning 'spirit,' while the latter may be the Berber *uda*, 'to fall' or 'descend,' the whole meaning 'the infernal spirit.' The national dish called Gofio has been compared with the Kuskusu dish so common in North Africa. The chief priest bore the name Faycan, and Faya meant 'a heavy man.' With these words we may compare the Berber *achfagha*, 'Lord,' and *feg*, 'stout.' The word *aguyan* for 'dog' might also be the Berber *akjun*. Many other comparisons are possible, but the above are perhaps sufficient to indicate the natural direction in which we must look for a true comparative study of the Guancho antiquities.

To sum up the results of an enquiry which is based mainly on the monumental labours of Dr. Chil, whose work—though, to European scholars, containing nothing contrary to the teaching of science as generally received by the educated—nevertheless drew down upon him the severe condemnation of

ecclesiastical authorities, who refused to believe that mankind once dwelt in caves, it remains only to point out that the results indicated are in accordance with the opinions of those who have had the best opportunity of forming true views. The evidence of anthropology and language alike points to the conclusion that the Guanchos, at some remote historic period, crossed over the short distance of sixty miles which separated them from the mainland; and that they belonged to the great race of the Mediterranean shores, whose highest civilisation is found in Egypt. They arrived long before the Arabs had invaded Barbary, and had been long separated from the original stock and even from one another when the Arab traders of the tenth century and the Norman, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish adventurers of the fifteenth rediscovered the 'Fortunate Isles': they retained very primitive customs and knew few arts, being destitute of metal, and remaining in the 'stone age,' or as it would be more correct to say in the 'stone stage,' even down to the sixteenth century; but when duly examined their history presents no very puzzling problem, and no evidence has really been adduced which proves their migration from distant lands in either Europe or America. Finally, it should be recognised that, in carefully collecting all available facts, and bringing to notice of scholars at home the best sources of information (especially in the works of Dr. Chil, to whom later writers appear all to be deeply indebted), Lord Bute has done service to the cause of science, and cast much new light on the history of a very interesting and widely spread race, some members of which are even supposed, in prehistoric times, to have reached the southern shores of our own islands.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. III.—DAVID, DUKE OF ROTHESAY.

[The following paper is the substance of a lecture delivered on January 22, 1892, before the Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh, by the author, in his capacity of their honorary President.]

THE mysterious death of David, Duke of Rothesay, at Falkland is probably the circumstance with which the name of that place is most closely associated in the greater number of minds. This fact is no doubt owing in great measure to the manner in which the event has been treated by Sir Walter Scott in the *Fair Maid of Perth*. Very little attempt has been made, as far as I am aware, to treat the life of this Prince from the point of view of historical criticism. On the other hand, Sir Walter Scott has used it as a subject for the use of his powerful and pathetic genius. The *Fair Maid of Perth* presents, especially in the characters of Robert III. and his son, a remarkable instance of the great novelist's power of making his characters live before the reader. Indeed, this is so to such an extent that I am conscious that the image which I form of the Duke is even now very much affected by the creation of Sir Walter's imagination. But on the other hand, Sir Walter has unhappily allowed himself in that famous romance all the license in altering and rearranging the facts of history to which he was only too prone; his history, such as it is, is based upon the statements of Bower and possibly coloured by the fictions of Boëce; and, even if he would have used them, he had not at his disposal a large portion of the scanty historical material which has been discovered or printed since his day.

The sources of knowledge as regards the few years of David, Duke of Rothesay's public career are indeed remarkably scanty, even more so than is usually the case with the historical matter relating to Scotland, as opposed to the abundant, interesting, and varied documents which supply the matter for the history of England. There is only one strictly contemporary Scottish historian, namely Wyntoun, the Prior of

St. Serf's Inch in Lochleven, but his history is very sketchy and slight, and moreover, doubtless in order to popularize his work, he wrote not in Latin prose but in Scottish verse, and it is very difficult to express a date in poetry. Bower wrote some forty years later, and may very probably, when he cannot be verified, be retailing idle gossip which at its very best can only have existed when he was in his 'teens. As to actual documents, the very foundations of historical truth, I have hardly ever seen any of the Duke's own, including only one letter, although they are referred to abundantly in the monetary accounts of the time; the Register of the Great Seal is lost after the third year of Robert III.; and in the Exchequer Rolls the entries are made only under the head of the year, without any nearer specification. Hence we are driven back upon casual charters, diplomatic correspondence, and the like, to be found scattered in all sorts of different directions. I have made a great number of notes of these, and, although I feel sure that there must be more information to be had than I have obtained, I do not think that any very abundant source of knowledge has escaped me.

The Prince was born, according to Bower, upon Oct. 24, 1378. The place was probably either Scone or Perth, as Parliament was sitting at Scone at the time and his father witnessed a Royal Charter there upon the very day. I made some attempt to ascertain where he passed his childhood, by noticing the places where his father, then Earl of Carrick, witnessed charters, but he seems to have constantly accompanied the King, and the movements of Robert II. are so erratic and his journeys so long and frequent, that it seems practically impossible that he could have been followed by an infant. The Prince David was $11\frac{1}{2}$ years of age when his grandfather Robert II., died at Dundonald (April 19, 1390) and his father John, Earl of Carrick, ascended the throne under the name of Robert III. Robert III., as is well known, had been crippled by an accident. He suffered from extremely weak health and although his mild virtues combined, with his prepossessing and dignified appearance, to make him beloved by those with whom he came in contact, there are no evidences

of his having possessed any unusual mental force, whereby to counteract the results of his physical misfortunes. It may be gathered from some indications, such as the Queen corresponding on international matters with Richard II. in 1394, and giving a tournament in 1398, that he was sometimes incapable even of transacting business and taking a part in social amusements. On the other hand the scanty materials for his personal history show that his journeys were sometimes very frequent, and his changes from place to place almost restless. He was particularly fond of the Firth of Clyde, and of sailing about from one place to another on its shores. When he was in the interior his chief residence seems to have been Perth. The state of his kingdom was often deplorable. For nearly the whole of his reign a Regency was established, first under his brother Robert, Duke of Albany, then under his eldest son, David, and then again under Robert of Albany. He appears to have been constantly surrounded by one small group of ministers, of whom his brother the Duke of Albany in particular seems rarely to have left his side.

The witnessing of the Charters of Robert II., as I have remarked, shows that during the early years of David, his father lived constantly with the old King, and as the Prince grew older, probably implies his own presence to an increasing extent. As I have already said, they changed their residence from place to place a good deal, but showed a decided fondness for the shores of the Clyde, the hereditary seat of their race. At the beginning of the year, 1390, Robert II. had been up at Dundee and Aberdeen. Thence he came to Perth, and was afterwards at Linlithgow in the latter half of March. It may be conjectured that he then felt the need of seeking the milder climate of the West. He was at Portincross (Arnele) at the end of March, and died, as I have remarked, at Dundonald on April 19, when his grandson David was aged nearly 11½. His sons John and Robert were with him all the time. His body must have been embalmed, as he was not buried till nearly four months after. One object of this delay may have been to obtain fine weather for the proceedings of the funeral and of the subsequent Coronation, and for the

journeys of those who had to take part in them. In the meanwhile, upon June 17, the disreputable Prince Alexander, Earl of Buchan, commonly called the Wolf of Badenoch, burnt the town and Cathedral of Elgin, with its library and documents.

Robert II. about 13 years previously, had prepared a sumptuous tomb for his own burial. It was kept in St. John's Church at Perth, and was now taken thence and erected in its place at Scone. The Royal Family, doubtless accompanying the body, arrived at Perth before July 18. I conjecture that it must have been now that the Wolf of Badenoch, upon public penance and promise of reparation, etc., was conditionally relaxed from excommunication, at the Black Friars Church of Perth, in presence of the whole Court, etc., to enable him to attend his own father's funeral. The burial and the Coronation took place at Scone with the greatest possible pomp and at an immense expense. On Saturday, August 13, the interment was performed, the Bishop of Glasgow officiating and the Bishop of St. Andrews preaching. The following day, Sunday, the King was crowned and anointed by the Bishop of St. Andrews, this being only the third occasion on which this ceremony had taken place in Scotland. The Bishop of Glasgow preached. On Monday, which was the Festival of the Assumption, the Queen Annabella Drummond was crowned, the Bishop of Dunkeld officiating and preaching. The homage of the Barons, a ceremony usually associated with the Coronation, but which had been omitted, perhaps not to over-fatigue the King (which may also have been the reason for deferring the Queen's Coronation) was performed upon the Tuesday, with a sermon by the Bishop of Galloway. Within the next month the Court moved to Edinburgh.

Prince David must at this time have been with his father and mother, and the solemnities of the royal funeral, the coronations of his parents, and the homage of the lieges to his father must have been among the earliest things which strongly impressed him, unless indeed we should assign such a position rather to the marriage of his eldest sister, Margaret, with Archibald, Master of Douglas, which is conjectured to have already taken place before his father's accession. His

changes of abode can be mainly followed by those of his father, since in his earlier years he must necessarily have been with his parents, and as soon as he becomes a little older we find him so constantly attesting the few charters of his father which are accessible as to lead to the inevitable conclusion that his habitual residence was at Court.

The title of Earl of Carrick, hereditary in his family, was immediately bestowed upon him, and not long after, perhaps in the Parliament held at Perth, in March, 1392, an income of £640, the payment of which was apportioned between the customs of nine different burghs, was settled upon him. This sum, even making a very full allowance for the greater value of money at that period, can hardly be reckoned to amount to the £15,000 which it is now the custom to allow even to the younger sons of the sovereign while still unmarried. It might have sufficed very well for the expenses of a little child, but when we regard the enormous burdens and labour which were imposed upon Prince David only a few years later, it seems, even when eked out by occasional special grants, to be altogether inadequate. And the consequences of this scanty provision appeared later.

With regard to the persons by whom he was surrounded, they were of course for the main part simply those who composed his father's court. The chamberlain of his household first appears in 1393 in connection with the Prince's first year's income. He was William Drummond. In the next year there is a new one, John Logy, who continued more than a year, and was then succeeded by John Stuart of Craigie. For the financial year ending in April 1396, the receipts are partly by this John Stuart, partly by Patrick Hepburn, and partly by John Niddry. The Prince was then 17. John Niddry, an able man of business who had been in the employment of the Crown since before the Prince was born, appears to have been a faithful and attached servant to him, and remained in his service, with one short interval, until the end of his life. As to his actual education nothing appears, but I conjecture that it was probably conducted with the advice of Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, a man who was constantly at Court, and who

seems thoroughly to have merited the confidence placed in him by the King, unless indeed you desire to blame him for the part he took in the Great Schism in the Papacy by adhering, and doubtless urging the Scottish Government to adhere, to the person variously called Robert of Geneva and Clement VII., an old personal friend of his own, by whom he had been nominated to his See, and to his successor, an adherence which can hardly have been weakened when Boniface IX., in 1397, did his best to confer St. Andrews upon the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Fitzalan. However, and by whomever the Prince's education was carried on, it was certainly careful and it was successful, for Wyntoun mentions the fact of his wide knowledge of literature, a fact which, especially under the circumstances of his constant changes and occupations proves not only the ability of his teachers but his own industry, capacity, and taste.

In order to follow the scenes of his boyhood, it may be worth while roughly to sketch the movements of the Court, as far as the very scanty materials I have been able to find enable me to do so. Soon after the Coronation, as I have remarked, the King went to Edinburgh, and stayed there, although not continuously, till about the beginning of February 1391, when he returned to Perth. In March he held a Parliament at Scone, and then, after a few days at Dunfermline, went back to Edinburgh, but from this he went almost immediately to the Clyde. His habit seems to have been to go about by sea from one place to another, yachting, in fact. He stayed in the West, although not quite continuously, till near the end of the year, when he went to Edinburgh once more. After another short journey to the West in February 1392, he went to Perth, where he held a Parliament in March, and stayed in the East till towards the beginning of July, when he again returned to the Clyde. He made a journey including Linlithgow and Dunfermline in October and November, but seems to have gone back to Rothesay for Christmas. This year is remarkable in the history of the Prince, only 14 in October, for the very early age at which he was introduced to public business. At some time during it he was sent to be

present at a great justice aire held at Lanark. In the middle of January, 1393, the King had to go back to Perth, and stayed there at least a month. He was in Edinburgh and Linlithgow in March, and I then lose all trace of him till October, when he was at Glasgow. I conjecture that he passed the summer on the Clyde. From Glasgow he went to Perth, where he held a Parliament at the end of October, and then went again to Edinburgh. He passed Christmas there or at Linlithgow, but held another Parliament at Scone in March, 1394, and after some stay at Perth, returned to the Clyde.

The young Prince was now 15, and discussions on his marriage already began. We have the following letter from the Queen to Richard II., dated at Dunfermline, August 1.*

‘To a most high and mighty Prince R., by the grace of God King of England, our dearest cousin, A., by the same grace Queen of Scotland, greeting and affection. For your friendly letters to us presented by our well-beloved Douglas, the Herald of Arms, we thank you entirely and from the heart, by the which we have understood your good estate and health, to our great pleasure and comfort. And, dearest cousin, as to the treaty touching the marriage to be made between some kindred of your blood and one of the children of the King my Lord and me, please you to know that it is agreeable to the King my said Lord and to us as he has signified by his letters. And in particular that, inasmuch as the said treaty could not hold the third day of July last past, for certain and reasonable causes contained in your letters sent to the King my Lord above said, you have agreed that another day of the same treaty shall be kept the first day of October next coming, the which is agreeable to the King my Lord aforesaid and to us, and we thank you with all our will and heart and we pray you dearly that you would continue the said treaty and make to be kept the said day, because it is the will of the King my Lord above said and of us, as much as in us lies, that the said day be held without fail. And, dearest cousin, we request and pray dearly that it give no displeasure to your Highness that we have not

* The original is in French.

sooner written to you, seeing that we were lying in childbirth of a male child who is named James, and we have been well and graciously delivered by the grace of God and of our Lady; and also because that the King my said Lord was, at the coming of your letters, at a great distance in the Isles of his kingdom, we did not receive these letters sent to us on this matter till the last day of July last past. Most high and mighty Prince may the Holy Spirit always keep you. Given under our seal, at the Abbey of Dunfermelyn, the first day of August.'

By the 'Isles of his kingdom,' I doubt not that the County of Bute is meant. On getting this letter Richard II. empowered certain Commissioners, of whom the chief were the Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Northumberland, to meet at Kelso with the Scottish Commissioners, of whom the principal were the young Prince himself, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Earls of Douglas and March. It was hoped that this marriage might be the means of effecting a lasting peace between England and Scotland, instead of the constant bickerings and short truces, the documents concerning which form the staple of the international historical matter at this period. But no more is heard of it. It must have fallen through.

The Court seems to have passed the winter at Perth, but from this time till several years afterwards the documents which I have seen are so excessively scanty that it is impossible to form from them even a general idea of the movements of the King or of the Heir-apparent. In the accounts for the year ending in April, 1396, given in at Perth, it is mentioned that the Prince had been to the North upon the King's business, and in a charter granted by Robert III. at Perth upon the last day of the month, in favour of John Logy, who had been recently the chamberlain of the Prince's household, we find, so far as I have observed, for the first time, the name of 'our first-begotten, David of Carrick' as that of one of the attesting witnesses. In the next accounts, for the year ending May, 1397, we get for the first time a peculiar entry of a sort very indicative of the position in which the Prince was placed by the unwise parsimony of the Government on the one hand and

the duties which he was expected to fulfil upon the other. The tax-collectors of Edinburgh admit a responsibility for £79 17s 9d. (say, about £1500 of our money) given to the Prince in the year before that of the account, viz., that in which he had first been sent to the North on the King's business. The Commissioners refused to pass the item except by the King's own command.

In this year 1396, 1397, the Prince had again been sent to the North upon the King's business, and it is natural to suppose that he had had some hand in arranging the famous Battle of the Clans, which took place in the King's presence upon the Inch of Perth, (not, as stated by Sir Walter Scott, upon Palm Sunday, but) upon September 28, 1396. Upon the morality of this proceeding I do not wish to say anything. It was the very age of judicial combats. I will only remark that if war is inevitable—and here the alternative was a war of indefinite duration waged with all the horrors of savagery—it is better that it should take place under absolutely fair conditions, with every facility for medical and religious help for the wounded, without danger to women and children, and be limited to as small a number as possible, and these the most turbulent and dangerous enemies of the public peace. It is however difficult to escape the conclusion that Prince David was present along with his father at the disgusting spectacle. It is one thing to give a sorrowful and reluctant assent to the necessity of capital punishment and another to go deliberately to see an execution. This battle seems to have been made a sort of gladiatorial show, as the cost of the arena prepared for it was £14 2s. 11d., which I take it would be represented by some £300 of our money. At some time in the ensuing year, *i.e.*, before April, 1398, the Prince was again sent to the North, but this time very probably to try to put a stop to the sort of war which his uncle the Wolf of Badenoch was carrying on against the See of Moray, to which a new Bishop was appointed in September 1397, and was invested in the temporalities in January 1398.

In the May of 1397, Robert III., as though acting on a kind of general principle of marrying as many Douglasses as possible,

entered into a contract, dated in Edinburgh, with the famous Isabel, Countess of Marr and Angus, to marry some one of his daughters to her son George, Earl of Angus.

In October, 1397, the Prince completed his 19th year, and at the beginning of the month, his father, who was then at Dunfermline, appears bringing him forward in the conduct of the most important public affairs. It was there arranged that on Monday, March 11 next ensuing, he should, accompanied by other Commissioners, meet John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, accompanied by English Commissioners, with a view to the renewal of the truce. The Court then seems to have gone to Linlithgow for the winter. There, upon November 9, were executed by the King, in presence of his son and brother, a batch of deeds relating to the arrangements made as to the property of George, Earl of Angus, and the Princess Mary is in them called his spouse. Hence I conjecture that her marriage with him may not improbably have just taken place there and then, if not while the King was still at Dunfermline. The political international meeting took place in the early spring according to arrangement, the Prince being accompanied among others by his uncle, afterwards Duke of Albany and then Earl of Fife. The indenture for the continuance of the truce was executed upon Saturday, March 16, at a place called Hawdenestanke or Haddensdank, which seems to have been rather a favourite one for such meetings. Mr. De Gray Birch, of the British Museum, has favoured me with a note upon it. It seems to have been adjacent to Hadden-rig, in the parish of Sprouston, in the extreme North-East of Roxburghshire, and close to the border. There seem to be no remains of any building which could have accommodated the Commissioners, and perhaps they were encamped in tents. The transaction of business appears to have been completed early in the day, as upon the following day, Sunday, March 17, the Prince wrote from Melrose to John of Gaunt* the only private letter of his

* The printed Historical MSS. of Scotland unfortunately publish this letter as written to Richard II., but the address upon the back to "*hault et puissant prince mon tres cher et aimé cousin le Duc de Guyenne et de Lan—*" is perfectly distinct.

which it has been my fortune to meet with. The text is in the same handwriting as the signature, but at first I felt much doubt whether it were the Prince's own, as the small and crabbed though neat text seemed to me almost too formed a hand for so young a lad. However, I consulted Sir William Fraser, and he showed me very fully formed handwritings by lads early trained to business, and he was moreover of opinion that no clerk would have been permitted to attach the Prince's signature. The letter is in French, and I venture to remark that it contains two mistakes, which seems to argue colloquial facility rather than scientific study.

‘High and Mighty Prince, my most dear and loved cousin, as to the matter of which you and the Bishop of St. Andrews have spoken, I have heard and seen that which you have advised in that matter, and will report it to the King, my Lord, and, according to what shall seem good to him, will proceed in the advancement of the business by the help of God, in the manner you have proposed or otherwise, at the time contained in your writing, or sooner if it can well be. High and Mighty Prince, if there be anything for your pleasure that I can do, courteously be pleased to tell me, and may the Almighty God have you in His most holy keeping. Written at Melross the seventeenth day of March.

‘DAVID, ELDEST SON OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND,
‘EARL OF CARRYK.’

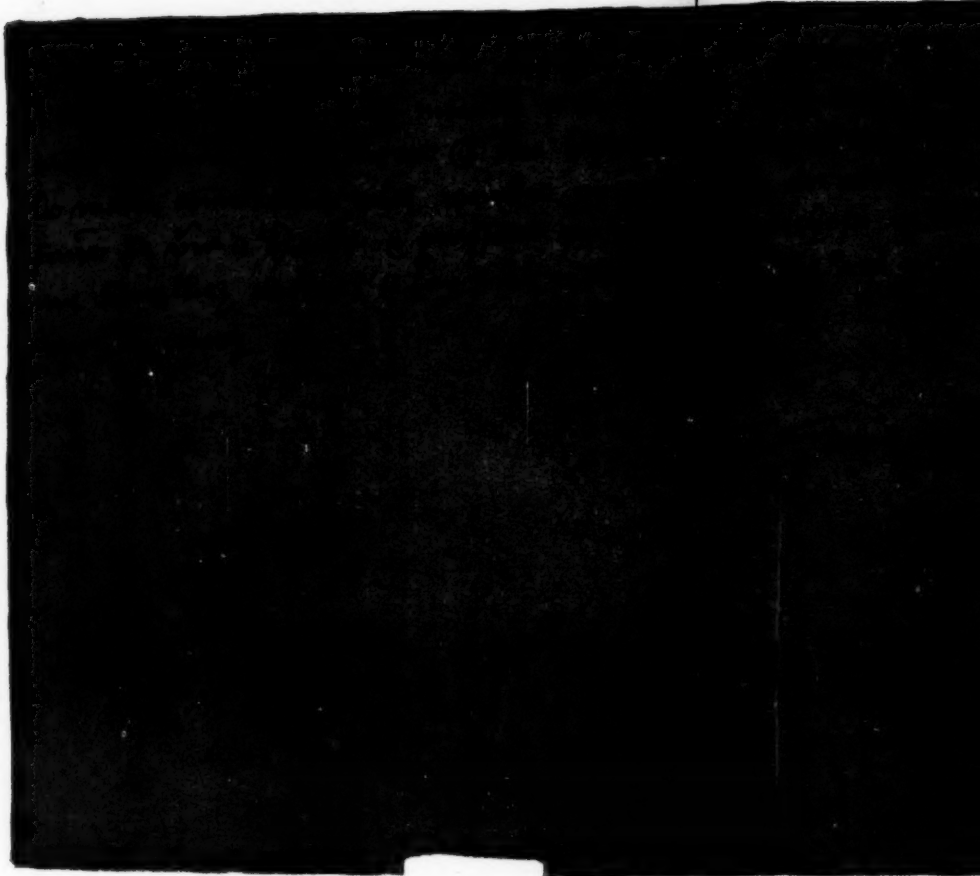
What the subject matter was which John of Gaunt had discussed with the Bishop of St. Andrews, does not appear. It is not, I think, improbable that it may have been some renewal of the scheme for the marriage of the Prince with a member of the Royal Family of England, or it may have been connected with the political intrigues which ultimately culminated in the fall of Richard II.

From Melrose the Prince must have immediately proceeded to rejoin his father, and they were at Perth after the middle of April. A fragmentary record of the Parliament which opened there upon the 22nd, speaks of the Earl of Moray being associated with the Duke of Albany in commanding the army,

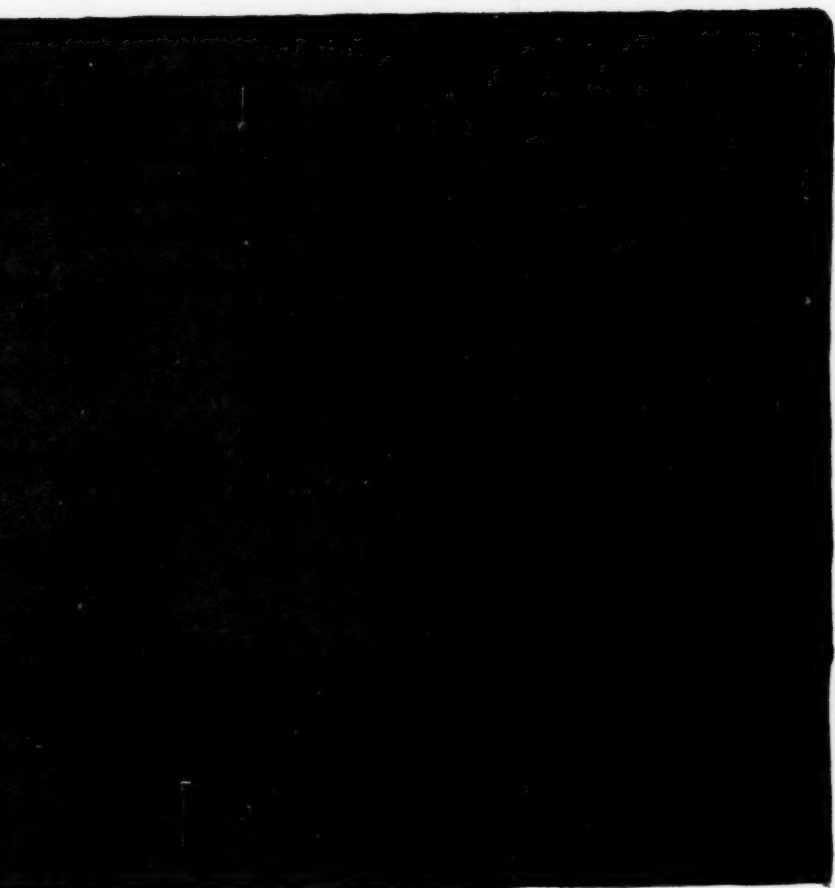
if the Duke of Rothesay will not do it. This is the first occasion upon which I have noticed that the two Princes are called by this title, which was an entire novelty in Scotland, but which the King had determined to introduce. David Lindsay had been created Earl of Crawford the day before, and perhaps their creation was on the same day. The Earl of Douglas is said to have refused the title of Duke, preferring to retain his great historic designation. The business of the Exchequer Court went on until Friday, 26th, on the Saturday the Court seems to have moved to Scone, and on the Sunday the two Royal Dukes went through a solemn ceremony somewhat of the nature of a Coronation. This seems strange to us among whom a Duchy has become a mere title, but it would be natural enough in the case of a reigning Duke, and it was evidently from this that the idea was taken. The description in the Register of Moray is as follows:—‘Upon the Lord’s Day, April 28th, 1398, our foresaid Lord, Robert, King of Scotland in the Church of the monastery of St. Michael of Scone created and raised the Lord David his first-born son, then Earl of Carrick, to be Duke of Rothesay, and the Lord Robert, brother of the Lord King, then Earl of Fife, to be Duke of Albany; and he solemnly adorned and invested them with furred mantles and caps and other insignia fit for and used to be given to Dukes only, during a solemn mass sung by the Lord Walter Trail, then Bishop of St. Andrews.’ Bower adds that the Bishop also preached. At the end of Lord Beauchamp’s edition of the *Liber Regalis* there is a Ritual for the inauguration of a Duke, and there are two in Martene *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, but these we can only conjecturally harmonize with what we know of the ceremony at Scone, nor is there time here to do so. The other insignia were probably a ring, a sword, and a coronet. This might indeed be concluded from the Rituals, but it is confirmed by the Great Seals of Robert of Albany and his son Murdoch, as Governors of Scotland. They are there represented as clad in mantles and caps, the cap surrounded by a coronet, and hold a sword in their right hand, while the scale is too small or the engraving too bad to show whether they have a ring or not.



HOLOGRAPH LETTER OF DAVID, DUKE OF ROTHES



E OF ROTHESAY, TO JOHN OF GAUNT.



SCOTT & PETERSON, ABING



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The choice of Rothesay as the place whence Prince David took his title is merely an evidence of the affection which this family seem always to have felt for the Firth of Clyde, and probably upon his own part for Rothesay in particular.

The business sittings at Perth occupied most of the week. And there is then, as far as my reading has extended, an almost perfect blank as to the history of the Prince, and indeed of the King, for several months. According to Bower, the Queen in this year gave a great tournament in Edinburgh, at which 12 knights contended, and the Duke of Rothesay took the leading part. It was held in what we should now call Prince's Street Gardens, on the spot afterwards occupied by the North Loch. I have met with nothing to point conclusively to the date of this entertainment; the natural period would be summer or early autumn, and I think it is probably the tournament which the *Registrum Glasguense* mentions as having been held for two days at a Michaelmas in some year about this time. The fact that it was given by the Queen seems to indicate that the King's health was even worse than usual: very likely he was again away cruising in the Firth of Clyde, or may have been laid up at Perth. The year's accounts sent in in May, 1399, enable us to know that the Duke of Rothesay made a journey to the borders with regard to the renewal of the truce, and this may perhaps have been at the end of October or beginning of November, when there certainly were such meetings.

On November 14 we have a curious and interesting fact regarding Falkland. The Duke of Albany, to whom it belonged as Earl of Fife, on that day granted a charter there which was witnessed by the Duke of Rothesay, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen (the latter of whom was Chancellor of Scotland) the Earl of Douglas, and others. As these are the habitual companions of the King, it seems not improbable that he may have been there himself; the next mention of him is at Perth in the ensuing January. The mention of Falkland is interesting, not only on account of its tragic later connection with the subject, but because the entertainment of such a party implies buildings of extent and splendour.

The accounts above named moreover show that the Duke and his Chamberlain, John Niddry, had money difficulties.

In October the Duke had completed his 20th year. The one contemporary writer, Wyntoun, speaks in the highest language of his talents, culture, and virtuous life, his honesty and good manners, and he possessed moreover that qualification of personal beauty which contributes so largely to enhance the popularity of Princes. In a Parliament held at Perth upon January 27, 1399, in consequence of the continued ill-health of the King, he was created Regent, or, as it is called, King's Lieutenant, for the term of three years. He was to be assisted by a Council, consisting of his uncles, Robert, Duke of Albany, and Walter, Lord of Brechin, the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the Earls of Douglas, Ross, Moray, and Crawford, the Lord of Dalkeith, Thomas Hay the Constable and William Keith the Marischal, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Patrick Graham, Sir John Livingston, Sir William Stewart, Sir John Ramorny, Adam Forster, Abbat of Holyrood, the Archdeacon of Lothian, and Mr. Walter Forster. It was enacted that the Coronation oath should be administered to him, and this is particularly interesting, because it is, as far as I know, the only indication of what the Scottish Mediæval Coronation Oath was. Unfortunately the record is only a translation. The words are:—'Ande in efter the said duc be sworne til fulfyl efter his powere all the thyngis that the Kyng in his crownynge wes suorne for til do to haly Kyrke and the pupyl, syn in to the thyngis he is to ber the Kyngis power. That is to say, the fredume and the rycht of the Kirke to kepe wudamyste, the lawys and the lowablez custumes to gerre be kepit to the pupil manslaerys, Reiferis brynnneris and generally all mysdoeris thruch strynthe til restreygne and punyse, and specially cursit men, heretikis, and put fra the Kyrke at the requeste of the Kyrke to restreygne.' This is not the place to enter into a disquisition upon the history of the Scottish Coronation Oath. I will merely say that I think that by means of this entry we may recognise the additional clause recommended by John XXI., when granting the unction to the King of Scots in 1329, and that by a com-

parison of the Coronation Oaths of the Kings of France and England, we can at least come very near to a re-construction of the actual text, and trace the origin of the formula, through the Pontifical of Egbert of York, to the period of the early Scottish monarchy of Dalriada.

The King was deprived by this Parliament of the power of interfering with the authority of the Lieutenant.

As I have at least mentioned the name of Sir John Ramorny, I may as well say at once that as far as I have seen any contemporary records concerning him—and they are numerous—he always appears as a man of the highest position, of honour, and of probity. The picture of him drawn by Sir Walter Scott is partly based upon a story in Bower which that writer himself admits to be gossip (*'ut dicitur'*) and partly upon imagination. He seems to have had nothing more to do with the household or person of the Duke of Rothesay than had any other minister of the Crown, except in part of one year. He died very soon after the Duke. The one year concerned is the financial one between May, 1399, and May, 1400. I have already mentioned the difficulties of John Niddry with regard to his accounts which appeared at the former of these two dates. He appears to have been suspended or to have resigned for a time his office of Chamberlain to the Prince's household, for although he so appears in May, 1400, and subsequently to the end of the Prince's life, Sir John Ramorny appears as Chamberlain for a part of the year 1399-1400.

The Court must have moved from Perth to Edinburgh in the early part of the year, and the Exchequer Court was held in Edinburgh at the end of April and beginning of May. On May 4 the King granted a Commission to the Duke of Rothesay and others to treat with England, and on the 14th they were at Haddansdank and executed an indenture prolonging the truce till September 28, 1400. The terms between the Royal families seem to have been friendly: on May 27, Richard II. grants a passport at the Duke of Rothesay's request, to two persons who appear as though his messengers. Later on the Court again went to the Clyde. The King visited Dunbarton and Renfrew, on August 17 he was in Arran along with the two

Royal Dukes, but by the beginning of October he was at Linlithgow. It was just at this time, the end of September, that Richard II. fell, and Henry IV. assumed his place. The event seems to have made no difference in Scotland. The King received letters from the new monarch (as Duke of Lancaster) on October 3, and answered him on the 6th, as to the truce. We find him at Linlithgow along with the Dukes until the end of November, but he would seem to have gone to Perth for Christmas, as he was there on January 4.

It was in this year, 1399, that the Duke of Rothesay became engaged to be married to the Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, daughter of the Earl of March. And here I am obliged to warn you against an error into which you may possibly be led by reading Lingard. That eminent historian says, that Henry IV. was incensed at the treatment in Scotland of the person whom it is the fashion to call Thomas Ward of Trumpington, but who was there recognised as Richard II., and that he was able to take his revenge with the help of the Earl of March, enraged at the jilting of his daughter. I own to a suspicion that Dr. Lingard has confused the dates: at any rate he has been unfortunate in his manner of expressing himself. The quarrel with the Dunbar family took place in February, 1400, and I can find no mention of the so-called Thomas Ward until about two years and a half later, nearly two years after Henry's invasion, and several months after the death of the Duke of Rothesay. The Court, as I have mentioned, was at Perth at the beginning of January. In February it had moved to Edinburgh, and a Parliament was held there in the second week of the month. It would seem that this Parliament complained that the Heir Apparent should have been engaged to be married without the approval of the Three Estates, and cancelled the engagement. On February 18 the Earl of March writes to Henry IV. a furious and treasonable letter on the subject, which it is worth while here to give at length in its original text and spelling, which are additionally interesting as showing the precise dialect then spoken at the Scottish Court and in the class of society to which the writer belonged.

‘Excellent mychty and noble Prynce, likis yhour Realte to

wit that I am gretly wrangit be the Duc of Rothesay the quhilk spousit my douchter and now agayn his oblisying to me made be hys lettre and his seal and agaynes the law of halikirc spouses ane other wif as it ys said. Of the quhilk wrangis and defowle to me and my douchter in swilk manere done, I, as ane of yhour poer kyn, gif it likis yhow requere yhow of help and suppowell for swilk honest service as I may do efter my power to yhour noble lordship and to yhour lande. Fore trettee of the quhilk matere will yhe dedeyn to charge the lord the Fournivalle, ore the Erle of Westmerland at yhour likyng to the Marche, with swilk gudely haste as yhow likis, qware that I may haue spekyng with quhilk of thaim that yhe will send, and schew hym clerly myne entent, the quhilk I darre nocht discouer to nane other bot tyll ane of thaim be cause of kyn, and the grete lewtee that I traist in thaim, and as I suppose yhe traist in thaim on the tother part. Also noble Prynce will yhe dedeyn to graunt and to send me, yhour saufconduyt endurand quhill the fest of the natiuite of Seint John the Baptist fore a hundreth knightis and squiers and seruantz gudes hors and hernais als wele within wallit Town as with owt, ore in qwat other resonable manere that yhow likis fore trauallyng and dwellyng within yhour land gif I hafe myster. And excellent Prynce syn that I clayme to be of kyn tyll yhow, and it peraventour nocht knawen on yhour parte, I schew it to yhour lordship be this my lettre that gif dame Alice the Bewmount was yhour graunde dame, dame Mariory Comyne hyrre full sister was my graunde dame on the tother syde, sa that I am bot of the feirde degre of kyn tyll yhow, the quhilk in alde tyme was callit neire, and syn I am in swilk degre tyll yhow I requere yhow as be way of tendirness thare of, and for my seruice in manere as I hafe before writyn, that yhe will vouchesauf tyll help me and suppowell me tyll gete amendes of the wrangis and the defowle that ys done me, sendand tyll me gif yhow likis yhour answeere of this, With all gudely haste, And noble Prynce mervaille yhe nocht that I write my lettres in englis, fore that ys mare clere to myne vnderstandyng than latyne ore Fraunche. Excellent mychty and noble prynce, the haly Trinite hafe

yhow euermare in kepyng. Writyn at my castell of Dunbarr
the xvijj day of Feuerer.

‘LE COUNT DE LA MARCHE DESCOCE.

‘Au tresexcellent trespuissant et tresnoble Prince
le Roy Dengleterre.’

Henry IV. instantly sent the Earl a passport to come to England, and entered into negotiations with him.

Meanwhile the Scottish Court returned to Linlithgow. The person selected as the bride of the Prince was the Lady Mary Douglas, daughter of Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, and sister of Archibald, afterwards fourth Earl, who was already the Duke's brother-in-law, by his marriage with the Princess Margaret. The marriage was publicly celebrated in the existing Church of Bothwell, which was then new and owed its existence to the bride's father. There were great festivities on the occasion, and I conjecture that the date may have been the last week of April, the only one which intervened between the Lenten and Easter period and the month of May. I have never come across any mention of the Duchess of Rothesay during the life of her husband.

This may perhaps be the best place to remark that Bower accuses the Prince of having jilted another person besides the Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, namely, Euphemia Lindsay, sister of William Lindsay of Rossie, and daughter of Alexander Lindsay of Glennesk. If so, the lady must have been much younger than her brother. The statement is entirely without contemporary historical support. If it is true, I can only observe of it, as of the matter of Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, that the marriages of Princes are made so much an affair of public policy (as was indeed the case with the Duke of Rothesay) that their feelings are often disregarded, and they are not so justly open as are other men to the charge of inconstancy. At the worst, the meaning would be that the young Prince was rather a flirt before his marriage. Of profligacy, either before or after marriage, there is not a scrap of evidence. The accusation of Bower himself is one not of debauchery but of frivolity, until either he or, as I think, some later editor of his, possessed by

the spirit of prurience, suddenly breaks into the hypothetical quotation of a beastly Latin triplet. As to the frivolity, I venture to observe that up to the age of 23 and even later, a certain amount of vivacity is not only natural but desirable, and that all the contemporary evidence there is tends to show that the tastes of the Prince were for business and in the direction of literary culture rather than of mere pastimes, and certainly not a line can be produced to show that he ever sacrificed the former to the latter. As for profligacy, there is not a contemporary word to support the charge, and had it been true, I can hardly understand a strait-laced ecclesiastic like Wyntoun, the only contemporary writer, going out of his way deliberately to lie by praising the Prince's virtuous life.

The Court was in Edinburgh in May when the usual meeting of the Exchequer was held, and afterwards returned to Linlithgow. The Royal Dukes were there as usual with the King in June. Meanwhile the usual interminable correspondence and squabbles with England were going on. Henry IV. was probably not unwilling to have some excuse for upsetting the truce, and the disturbances upon the borders supplied many such. He determined to invade Scotland, and summoned an army at York, where he himself arrived about midsummer: a month later he was at Newcastle. He finally entered Scotland on August 14. King Robert seems to have been sent to the Clyde, to keep him out of harm's way. The Duke of Rothesay threw himself into Edinburgh Castle, along with his brother-in-law, who was its governor. The invasion was a very harmless matter. Henry IV. reached Haddington on August 15, and stayed there three days, and was at Leith, where he also stayed three days, on the 22nd. The war was conducted with great mildness, and when the Canons of Holyrood sent to beg that they might not be disturbed, Henry not only granted the request, but declared (in striking anticipation of some more modern statesmen) that he himself was indeed half a Scotchman by blood. At Leith he wrote a rather stupid letter in answer to one of the Duke of Rothesay's, in which it seems that the Prince, probably remembering the Battle of the Clans, had proposed to fight him along with 100, 200, or 300

chosen troops. The offer can hardly have been meant seriously, and was of course refused. Henry immediately left Scotland : he was at Newcastle on September 3.

On his departure, the Duke of Rothesay immediately joined his father upon the Clyde. The King had been at Rothesay on September 5. He was with his son and brother at Irvine on the 12th, and at Renfrew, with the whole of his usual little Court, on October 5. There is nothing to show that they did not remain in the same part of the country over the New Year, for it was at Rothesay on January 12 that the King, in presence of this familiar group, and very probably at the solicitation of the Prince, erected that town into a Royal Burgh. On Christmas Eve the Duke's father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, died at Threave.

After leaving Rothesay the King came to Perth, and a Parliament was held at Scone at the end of February at which both the Royal Dukes were present. At the end of March the King was at Aberdeen, where he may be supposed to have stayed over Easter (April 3) and on April 29 he was at Dunfermline with his brother, but not his eldest son. The Exchequer Court was held at Perth at the end of May. In June an important event, the death of Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, took place. I have met with no record of the date, but as Wyntoun mentions that the Chapter elected his successor upon July 1, and as an account mentioning payments to him by the customars of St. Andrews, in which there is no mention of his having died, was given in upon June 7, it would appear that his death must have taken place in the middle fortnight of the month. The position of the Church of St. Andrews considerably affected the future of Duke David. The death of the Bishop was followed by another which affected him still more deeply, namely, that of his mother, the Queen Annabella Drummond. I have seen no record of the date, but Wyntoun says that it was in harvest, which points to August or September. Bower says that she died at Scone, and the accounts make mention of her expenses at Perth before her death. She was not, however, buried at Scone, but at Dunfermline, very likely from a wish of her own to lie near her

sainted predecessor Margaret. It is only natural to suppose that her husband and son were with her during her last illness and at her death and burial. The conclusion is that the Court was at Perth almost continuously in this year 1401, from February to September. Of the King there is no further trace until the beginning of March, 1402, when he appears at Portincross, and my conjecture is that after his bereavement he returned to his beloved Firth of Clyde, and there remained till after the death of his son. He is mentioned as having been in Bute.

The career of the Duke of Rothesay must have been somewhat different. At some time in the year, though it is impossible to say when, he was engaged in the siege of the Castle of Reres. Much light is thrown upon the causes of the resistance of Sir John Wemyss by the recently printed *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss* of that Ilk. It was a matter really concerning the Duke of Albany, and which it would be useless, if it were possible, to go into here. It will be remembered that his Lieutenancy of the Kingdom was to expire upon January 27, 1402. The accounts rendered at the Exchequer Court at Aberdeen in July, 1402, three months after his death, and covering the period from June, 1401, thus embracing the last nine months of his life, and the last seven of his Regency, contain four curious entries with regard to his last acts, which show the extremities to which he was driven by a misplaced economy in stinting his resources and at the same time loading him with the most costly labour, and indicate, as I venture to think, that this was the final cause which led to his earthly end being enveloped in obscurity. One of these is a sum of £52 13s. 4d. (say, over £1,000 of our money) which the customars of Perth stated that they had paid at the Duke's order: the Commissioners of the Exchequer seem to acknowledge that such order as alleged would have been sufficient but that the proof of its existence is insufficient, and that the King is to be consulted. In other words, this order, if it ever existed, must have been given before January 27, 1402. Another is of two sums of £10 and £20 respectively, (say, £600 or £700 of our money) taken from the customars of

Edinburgh, as to which the Commissioners have satisfied themselves that it was taken while the Duke had a right to do so, viz., before January 27. This entry has an especial interest because it shows the Duke to have been in Edinburgh within a few months before his death, and confirms the story of Bower that being not long before his death staying in Edinburgh Castle, and gazing at a great comet which was then visible, he remarked that he had heard from astrologers that such a phenomenon heralds the death of Princes. The history of this comet is very interesting in itself, and the story of Bower may throw some light upon the details of the last weeks of the Prince's life. I applied to Prof. Grant, of Glasgow, for information, and, with the courtesy which is habitual to him, he supplied me with what notes he could, especially from the great work upon comets by the French astronomer Pingré. This comet was among the most remarkable recorded, and shares with a few others the distinction of having been visible to the naked eye not only in full daylight but even when near to the sun. It first became visible upon February 8, reached its maximum of brilliance upon March 21, (a few days before the Prince's death) and afterwards ceased to be visible at night though it was seen for eight days more in the day, with much diminished splendour. If therefore it is true that the Prince observed it from Edinburgh Castle, he must have been in Edinburgh Castle after February 8. That being in Edinburgh he should have gone to the Castle to stay with his brother-in-law the Governor is exceedingly natural, and seems to be in itself almost a sufficient refutation of the prurient fiction by which modern writers are fond, in the teeth of all the known facts, of accusing him of a marital infidelity which had alienated him from his wife's family. The third case is one in which John Tyndall, customar of Montrose, had paid £24 (say £560 of our money) to the deputy of the Duke of Albany as Chamberlain of Scotland, and the Prince had imprisoned the customar in question until he paid it to him again. The ground of this act doubtless was some disputed point as to the question to whom the money had really been payable, and seems to fix the date after Jan. 27. The last instance is that of John Mortimer, a customar of

Dundee, who assured the Commissioners that the Duke had taken £71 4s. 9d. (say £1500 of our money) from him by force. All this shows that the Duke in his last months was in great pecuniary straits, that he had been at Edinburgh as well as Perth, and that subsequently to the expiry of his Lieutenantancy of the Kingdom on Jan. 27, 1402, he was at Montrose and Dundee trying to obtain money.

It is still in connection with these monetary difficulties that I now turn to the condition of the See of St. Andrews, the facts as to which are closely bound up with those of the Duke of Rothesay's last days. On the demise of Bishop Trail the whole temporalities of the See, as a feu from the Crown to an *ex-officio* feuwar who, as such, had no hereditary successor, reverted into the hands of the Crown as feudal superior. This was the ordinary rule, and it naturally happened that impetunious Governments were not always very anxious in such cases that the See should be immediately filled up. In this case the Chapter, upon July 1, 1401, had elected as successor to Walter Trail, Thomas Stuart, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, a meek man, whose most distinctive merit probably was that he was the bastard half-brother of the King and of the Duke of Albany, the latter of whom at least was much attached to him. William Nory, the Sub-prior of the Cathedral Priory, was immediately despatched to Avignon to obtain the Bull for Consecration. The moment was peculiar. The Great Schism was raging, and Peter de Luna or Benedict XIII., whichever you like to call him, was at one of the lowest ebbs of his very varying fortunes. Scotland alone seems to have adhered to him quite faithfully, and her support was not worth much. The French Government could hardly, even in common decency, abandon and persecute him, but they put the strongest pressure upon him to cause him to abdicate, which he, in that clear and eloquent Latin of which he must be owned to have been a master, firmly and consistently refused to do. His Cardinals deserted him, and the army of the Marshal Boucicaut beleaguered his palatial fortress, without actually daring to assault it. The siege cannot have been very close, or, during the space

of nearly five years for which it lasted, he would have been cut off from communication with the outer world, and ultimately compelled by famine to surrender. But great delay in transacting business was necessarily produced. William Nory however in time obtained the Bull and returned. Here however there arose a fresh obstacle. The custody of the Castle of Dunbarton had become nearly, if not absolutely, hereditary in the family of Danielston, and the fortress was now in the possession of a certain priest, Walter Danielston, whom I take to have been probably the eldest son of Sir Robert Danielston, who had died in 1396 or 1397. He was not distinguished for the virtues which ought to adorn the clerical state, but the Government wished to obtain possession of the castle, and when he proposed to surrender it upon being created Bishop of St. Andrews, the Duke of Albany closed with the offer, persuaded his half-brother Thomas to forego his rights, and obtained a fresh election from the chapter, in which, according to Wyntoun, voters were induced to act against their own consciences. It must be added, in justice to Benedict XIII., among whose faults inconsistency cannot be charged, that he would never consent, and Walter Danielston died un consecrated at Christmas, 1402. He had however been inducted into the temporalities in the preceding summer, probably in May.

How far this extraordinary negotiation had progressed in the early months of the year it is impossible to say, but it must have been in hand. The temporalities of St. Andrews were vacant and in the hands of the Crown, and the whole question of the succession to the See was in a state of confusion and uncertainty. As to the Duke of Rothesay, we have here to fall back upon Bower, but his statements are largely supported by known facts. It occurred or was suggested to the impecunious Prince that he would act wisely in taking possession of the temporalities. There can be no doubt that in determining to do so, he must have argued that he would be not only relieving his own necessities by a justifiable use of the property of the Crown, but would also, by impeding the abominable Danielston intrigue, be rendering a real service to the Church, a matter as

to which, as is evident from the records of payments to ecclesiastical objects made by his command, he was anything but indifferent. It is, however, easy to imagine the feelings with which the persons then conducting the Government must have heard of his intention. His exactions at the custom-houses must have been already almost intolerable. His proposed seizure of the temporalities of St. Andrews, which would moreover have paralyzed all the negotiations for obtaining the Castle of Dunbarton, could not be borne, and his uncle and brother-in-law placed him under restraint. It is one of the statements of Bower that this arrest took place in obedience to an instruction from the King. This is clearly false. The royal document of May 20, which declares that the Prince's death had proceeded solely from natural causes, expressly lays upon the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas, along with their accomplices, the whole responsibility for the act of placing him under restraint, to which they represent themselves as having been driven by motives of public policy, and grants them a complete pardon for it, while mentioning the indignation which the King had felt upon the subject. Bower's statement is simply irreconcilable with this document.

According to Bower, the arrest was effected by William Lindsay of Rossie and John Ramorny, as the Prince was on his way to the Castle of St. Andrews, very slightly attended. The place was between Nydie and Strathtyrum, that is, very near St. Andrews itself, and the *Liber Pluscardensis* adds that it was close to the great cross. I cannot identify this place. Perhaps it was one of the 12 crosses which traditionally bounded the *τέμενος* or Holy Girth of the Apostle. The royal prisoner was first taken to the Castle of St. Andrews, which his uncle had thus been beforehand with him in occupying, and which it is even possible may have already been placed in the hands of Danielston. Bower says that Albany and Douglas now held a meeting at Culross, where they discussed the most expedient step to take, and that in consequence they removed the Duke under a strong guard to Falkland. The language of Bower seems to mean that his uncle and brother-

in-law went with him in person : he adds that the Prince was mounted upon a pack-horse, and wrapped in a large reddish-brown cloak like that of a servant. He was taken to the Tower at Falkland, and lodged in a 'befitting chamber.' This tower seems to have formed the most prominent feature of the building at the time, and is mentioned as a sort of synonymous term along with 'manor' to designate the whole residence, till a considerably later period. The new buildings mentioned in the accounts for 1468-9 appear to have changed the character of the place and thrown the tower into the background. The last notice of it which I have observed is for the repair of its roof just 50 years after the Duke of Rothesay's death, viz., in the year 1461-2, and in the accounts for the year 1472-3, the word 'Palace' appears. I was naturally anxious to find any remains of this tower, which had totally disappeared. In excavating in the garden to the north of the standing portions of the Palace, we found the remains of the original enclosing wall, and in the north-east angle a part of a round tower over 50 feet in diameter, retaining a small portion of the ornamental string-course, which shows it to be of about the thirteenth century. In its centre is the well, sunk in the rock. The plan of this part of the buildings it is possible to surmise with a very high degree of probability, from the parallel buildings which remain in a more perfect condition at Bothwell Castle and elsewhere. This great tower with its high pointed roof must have been the main feature of the early group of buildings, and a prominent feature in the landscape for many miles round. Its great size implies truly noble rooms. I cannot doubt that it is the structure to which the Duke of Rothesay was carried, and that the befitting chamber in which he was lodged was some apartment or apartments in it befitting the rank of the captive. Even Bower, late as he is, seems never to have heard of the subterranean cell of more modern romancers.

In a short time it was announced that the Prince had died of dysentery. If the statement of Bower that the waning of the comet instantly followed the Prince's imprisonment be true, that imprisonment can have lasted only a few days, since

the comet reached its maximum brilliancy on Tuesday, March 21, but I must say that I think this can hardly have been the case.

The assertions as to the day of his death vary. The *Registrum Glasguense* says it was March 1. The *Liber Pluscardensis* gives April 7. Bower says that he died during the night between Saturday the 25th and Easter Sunday, the 26th of March, but that it was not known whether before or after midnight. If this be really true, it argues a most singular secrecy as to his imprisonment, which is suspiciously harmonious with the story of his disguise during his journey to Falkland, and the startling circumstances of unusual place and at least possible privacy of detail which attended his funeral. Wyntoun gives Monday, March 27, and may, I conceive, be right, at any rate as the ecclesiastical reckoning of the evening and the morning making the day, would make March 27 commence at sunset on March 26. The *Registrum Glasguense* must, I think, be wrong. The *Liber Pluscardensis* may, I think, be misled by the fact that March 26 is vii. kk. Aprilis, or it may mean that the funeral was upon April 7.

The natural course with regard to his funeral would have been to take his body for burial to Dunfermline, there to lie beside that of his own mother and those of so many of his kingly ancestors. On the contrary, it was taken to Lindores, where there had never been any royal interments. The only item with regard to his funeral expenses is one of £2 1s. 4d. in the Perth accounts. Even allowing that about £50 worth of our money is meant, I can hardly bring myself to believe that the ceremony was conducted upon a scale so mean.

The most sinister rumours regarding the cause of his death at once became current. Parliament sat in Edinburgh in May, and the matter was discussed and more or less sifted. On May 20 the King published the following document :—

‘Robert by the grace of God King of Scots unto all unto whose knowledge this present letter shall come [wisheth] everlasting health in the Lord : for as much as our dearly beloved Robert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and Menteith, our brother,

and Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, our son-in-law by reason of our daughter whom he hath taken to wife, did lately cause our most illustrious son David our first-born, the late Duke of Rothesay and Earl of Carrick and Athole, to be taken and put under personal restraint, and first warded in the Castle of St. Andrews, and then to be kept in ward at Falkland, where he is shown to have passed from this light by the Providence of God and not otherwise. The which [Robert and Archibald] compearing in our presence in our General Council begun at Edinburgh upon the 16th day of the month of May in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and two, and continued for some days [thereafter], and being interrogated upon this matter by our royal authority, or accused [therein], and avowing the taking, restraining, and death as above mentioned, did in our presence set forth the causes which did thereunto move them, as they declared, for the public weal, the which causes we judge not to be inserted herein: and thereupon diligent inquisition having been made thereon, and all and everything touching this matter to be herein considered having been so considered, and the mature deliberation of our Council having been had upon the matters discussed, we hold excused the aforesaid Robert our brother, and Archibald our son-in-law, and their accomplices whomsoever herein, that is, in restraining, keeping, warding, counselling, and all others giving them counsel, to wit, help or favour, or obeying their orders or commands howsoever; yea, and in our aforesaid Council we have openly and publicly declared, pronounced and decreed, and by the tenour of this present, we do declare, pronounce, and by this our definitive sentence do define that they and any one of them are innocent, harmless, faultless, at peace, free, and safe, utterly and anyhow, of any crime against our Majesty, or of any crime, fault, injury, blame, or offence whatsoever which might be anywise imputed to them by occasion of the aforesaid matters: and if we have anyhow conceived against them, or any of them, man or woman, one or more, who have anyhow taken part in this thing, or anyhow cleaven unto them, any anger, wrath, blame or offence, we do of our own free will, of our own knowledge and also from the

deliberation of our Council already named, annul, put away the same, and will it to be annulled for ever. Wherefore we do strictly ordain and command unto all and every our subjects of whatsoever state or condition they be that neither by word nor deed do they impute blame to Robert and Archibald oftentimes aforesaid or to them who took part, consented, or clave unto them in this thing, or whisper anything against them whatsoever whereby their good fame may be wounded or any prejudice begotten against them, under every punishment which the law can therein inflict.

‘Given under witness of our Great Seal in the Monastery of the Holy Rood of Edinburgh upon the 20th day of the month of May aforesaid, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and two, and of our reign the thirteenth.’

It is an ominous proverb that imprisoned Princes do not live long. And when we ask the usual question, the answer of which points to the author of a crime, Who profitted by it? the answer undoubtedly is, His uncle, in whose house he died. On the other hand, the motive with the brother-in-law would have been all the other way, but he again, although an accomplice in the arrest, might have known nothing of the murder, if murder there were. It may be suggested that a chill caught upon the journey might have resulted in death—that a Lenten diet of stock fish, salt herrings, and oatmeal would not have tended to health—that starvation at least is a slow and improbable mode of assassination—and that the moment of Easter is not one which superstition, even if there were no question of religion, would have been likely to select for the crime. Of the two persons named by Bower as his keepers, John Selkirk was certainly in the Royal employment from 1384 to 1389, when he probably entered that of the Duke of Albany, and the other, John Wright of Falkland, was certainly customar of Kinghorn under Albany at least from 1411 to 1420, and perhaps received other favours, as the name is not an uncommon one, and it is not always clear which particular person is meant. Of the persons who effected the arrest, William Lindsay was certainly afterwards in high favour with Albany, and when John Ramorny died soon after Rothesay, Albany

settled a pension upon his widow. But this means nothing more than would have been clear anyhow, viz., that they were Albany's trusted friends and servants. My own impression is that the truth as to the cause of the Duke of Rothesay's death is and must remain uncertain. I have only put together these few notes in the hope that, by at least a certain number of hard facts, I may combat a most pernicious tradition to which Sir Walter Scott unhappily lent the support of his genius, and may do, and perhaps induce others to do, an act of justice not only to the truth of history but also to the memory of an unfortunate lad.

BUTE.

ART. IV.—A NEW RELIGION.

THE reader of the following pages may be at once re-assured as to their subject. No addition will be suggested to the 'thousand religions' which, along with 'one sauce,' represent, according to the great French philosopher, the poverty of British invention in a really important sphere, and the frittering away of our mental activities in another of less moment. Our scene of action lies in the East, that most ancient, and still, to judge from the wide-spread interest which such questions arouse there, most congenial home of religious and philosophical speculation.

With reference specially to the region we are now concerned with, viz. Persia, it may no doubt be plausibly asserted that the decided bent of the popular mind in this direction is largely due to outward conditions; as for instance, to the essentially simpler habits of life, and still more to ages of misgovernment. Where there is no outlet for individual energy, and consequently no personal interest in public and political matters; no material prosperity, and but little security for property or even for life, the minds of men will naturally, it may be said, turn to subjects above and outside of their material surroundings. There is much truth in this; it is comparatively

easy to leave all and follow any new guide, whether you have much or little to leave, when the tenure of that little is very uncertain ;—but it is not the whole truth. In India, for instance, where under British authority an order and security unknown for ages prevail, a teacher frequently appears, of unusual asceticism and pretensions to holiness, and soon gathers round him a band of disciples ; and in Persia, for the last thousand years at least, whatever the government, this tendency has been the same. It has been accentuated, probably, by the constant looking and longing for the appearance of the Imam Mahdi, who, like the Jewish Messiah, is to restore all things. The expectation no doubt is shared by Mohammedans everywhere, but it is especially keen in the Shiah branch of that faith, because they have had a series of Imams descendants of Ali, and the twelfth and last having mysteriously disappeared some 900 years ago, his reappearance has always been confidently looked for, and it is accordingly natural for any new teacher to proclaim himself, or to be supposed by his followers to be, either the Mahdi himself or his forerunner.

The Shiah branch of Islam, which is confined mainly to Persia, has always, as is well known, been pronounced schismatic by the rest of the Mohammedan world. In such a question, outsiders almost necessarily take the word of the majority, and for Europe the great neighbouring Khalifates of Egypt and Turkey naturally appeared to be the *orbis terrarum* of Islam, rather than remote Persia, where after all the Shiah faith was only finally established after many vicissitudes in the sixteenth century. The Sunnis also had success—a great test of orthodoxy—on their side, and their doctrines have crystallized into closer accordance with the original teaching of the Prophet than have those of the rival sect ; still, there is much to be said on the other side ; the story and character of Ali, for instance, must always evoke even our cooler sympathies, and we can easily understand the living enthusiasm of his followers to the present day. The claim put forward, for him and for certain of his successors in greater or less degree, of divine attributes, which may be said, shortly, to be the chief distinguishing development of the Shiah faith, has indeed, in

combination with the Sufi philosophy, tended to Pantheism ; but the assertion of the identity of the human spirit with the divine need not perhaps, at all events abstractedly, be condemned by the Christian philosopher.

It would be interesting, but beyond our present limits, to speculate on the causes which led to the development of Persian Mohammedanism on these lines. It may have been partly the protest of an alien race with idiosyncrasies innately opposed to the severe monotheism of their Semitic invaders ; or it may have been the natural action of the teaching of Islam on minds imbued for many centuries with the ideas and principles of Buddhism.

Enough, at all events, has been said to shew a condition of the national mind which would make the appearance of new teachers antecedently probable, and might indicate the lines which such teaching would take. At the same time secondary causes have long been at work which greatly favour the spread of any new teaching. The established creed sits very lightly on all except the lowest class of the population, and outside this class, therefore, but small respect is felt for the clergy, who more than elsewhere in Islam have become a caste, and arrogate a sort of independence of the civil power. The latter accordingly would be disposed to welcome a new and popular teacher as an ally against the clergy, while on the other hand the civil government has been so corrupt that all would-be reformers, as well as the discontented and ambitious generally, would gladly support any new teacher who, whatever his doctrine, would combine with it a denunciation of administrative abuses.

Within the comprehensive pale of Shiah orthodoxy there are numerous sects, among whom teachers constantly arise, each claiming, or admitted by his adherents to possess, a certain amount of inspiration. His doctrines, however, which are usually reduced to writing, are only held to be valid during his life-time, though occasionally he is succeeded by a son or some other who has embraced the same views. But there have been many besides of doubtful orthodoxy, though of equal authority and sanctity ; notable among these was a certain

Hadji Sheikh Ahmad of Bahrein, the founder, early in the present century, of the Sheikhte sect, a school of mystics who, having no political object, were unmolested by the administration as well as by the clergy, having in fact in their ranks many adherents from both these classes. They taught that the twelve Imams absolutely, and all good men in lesser degrees, were impersonations of the Divine attributes, and the former, in consequence, immortal. The Sheikh preached besides and practised a high morality. He resided at Kerbela, the sacred city of his faith, and at his death his mantle fell on a certain Said Kazem, under whom the sect still increased in numbers, and who had many representatives preaching his doctrines throughout Persia. He died without directly nominating a successor, when fourteen of his disciples were deputed to travel through the land and ascertain the views of the faithful on the subject. Among the leading members of the sect were some who had long been desirous to bring its influence to bear on what they considered the two crying evils of the time, viz., the corruption and unwholesome tyranny of the clergy, and the arbitrary character of the supreme government. To this end they essayed to promote the election to the headship of a very young man, whom they might mould to their views, while availing themselves of his character and reputation to forward their designs. This young man, Ali Mohammed, a reputed Said, i.e., a descendant of the Imam Ali, was the son of a merchant of Shiraz, who having received there the usual education of his class was sent in the course of business to Bushire. Here, though shewing himself interested in the society of anyone from whom knowledge was to be gained, he appears, even as a boy, to have been singularly reserved and silent, and greatly given to solitude and meditation; he had early gone to reside at Kerbela, and even in that centre of religious enthusiasm he attracted attention by the singular austerity and purity of his life, and by the air of mystery and reticence which surrounded him. At this time he appears to have come in contact with both Jewish and Christian influences, and indeed his teaching shews traces of the latter, but it seems likely that any leanings in this direction were revolted—as in-

deed was probably the case with the great founder of Islam himself,—by the ignorant and degraded character of the only Christians with whom he was acquainted.

That a young man of this stamp should have devoted himself to the pursuit of religious truth was almost a matter of course, and, apart from his exalted character, would not alone have excited much attention in those countries where, as before implied, the *métier* of a 'seeker after truth' is natural and characteristic to a degree hardly comprehensible in a society like our own. It was also, perhaps, characteristic that he was at once accepted as a prophet in his own native Shiraz, the townsmen of Sa'adi and Hafiz at once recognizing the claims of a sanctity so greatly superior to their own, and rendered more attractive by a singular charm of manner, and, when he spoke, a simple and persuasive eloquence. His retiring and mysterious character of itself attracted disciples, while the paucity of his utterances made them the more valuable. After a short stay, however, he seems to have started, alone or accompanied by a single follower, on a pilgrimage to Mecca. And now his views began to take a more definite shape. While recognizing the authority and the inspiration of Mohammed, and teaching that his own doctrine was rather a development than a superseding of the Prophet's, he nevertheless claimed impliedly to occupy, with respect to him, the position which Mohammed had arrogated to himself in relation to Christ and the Jewish prophets. Throughout his teaching the subordination of the letter to the spirit is very remarkable. He is indeed not the only modern Persian teacher who has sublimated a material hell into 'the being deprived of the Divine principle while at the same time sensible of the deprivation;' he was also like his master, the Sheikh, disposed to a very 'rational' explanation of many of the old miracles. Again, while holding that nothing in Nature is impure, and therefore unlawful, still temperance is indispensable to holiness, and accordingly he advised and anyhow practised abstention from coffee, opium, and tobacco.* One of his most startling inno-

* A later and happier revelation has rescinded this last prohibition.

vations was a declaration of the equal rights of women with men. From this, indeed, his enemies deduced that if a man might have nine wives, a woman might have nine husbands, and they declared that matters were carried much further than this; but it seems to be a calumny, for he forbade arbitrary divorces, and encouraged marriage. Many formal prayers and ceremonial ablutions were declared unnecessary, but oratories in private houses were recommended. Pilgrimages were to be no longer of high obligation, women especially being absolved on the ground of fatigue. For the rest, politeness and brotherly affection, and tenderness to women and children were enjoined, in very touching language; and to possess one's soul in tranquillity. With full confidence in the future he prescribes how, when the Faith is generally established, temples are to be erected on the sites of the martyrdoms of its chief teachers, *his own included*. And he lays down that though enemies may be plundered, no one is to be killed in the name of religion; torture and capital punishment, too, are to be superseded by a system of fines.

One of the later developments is especially characteristic. As is generally known, the letters of the Arabic alphabet have each a numerical value, from which many coincidences as to the hidden meanings of words are deduced. The letters of the word *wajûd*, existence (sc. of one God) make up the number 19: accordingly this number (which has been held sacred by the SheikHITE sect), was introduced in all sorts of relations. Thus, the fast of Ramadhan, hitherto a lunar month, was to be 19 days; there were to be 19 days in a month and 19 months in a year. The new teacher was to be one of 19 fore-runners of the Mahdi, and all weights and measures were to be adapted to the same unit. We are occasionally threatened at home with the abolition of our own varied but by no means unscientific divisions of time and space and weights and monies, and the substitution of a decimal system; we should, it is to be hoped, make short work of a reformer who took the number 19 for his unit!

All this doctrine was developed gradually; but the whole time occupied by the mission of the young prophet was won-

derfully short ; it is in fact difficult to realize that hardly six years elapsed between his pilgrimage to Mecca and his martyrdom in 1850, and that he was barely 30 years old when he died, having elaborated a new and important body of doctrine and practice, and established the most wide-spread and influential sect in Persia.

How far the lofty spiritual pretensions of the Teacher emanated from his own brain, or to what extent they were suggested to or forced on him by his more devoted disciples, it is not easy to say. From what has gone before it will be understood that such pressure would be exercised from three sides at least ; first by his *Murids*, the faithful disciples, whose previous training and national tone of thought would naturally lead them to recognize in such exceptional holiness and wisdom the signs of at least a partial inspiration, or even incarnation ; secondly, from the common people, always on the look-out for the coming Imam, the Sahib es-Zemán or Lord of the Age, under whom they expect, as the Jews under the Messiah, to make the best of both worlds, and anyhow to terminate the oppressions and miseries of the present. They could not indeed, in their ignorance, decide on the claims of a pretender, but for this they were ready to take the word of the learned, which would fall, if favourable, on willing ears. And thirdly, there were the discontented spirits, more active than numerous, who gladly availed themselves of such a movement. Their desires were not unreasonable ; they wished to check the power and arrogance of the clergy, who professing to be under invisible spiritual guidance admitted only a qualified subjection to the state ; then the injustice of the judges and the extortions of officials called for redress, as well as the arbitrary doings of ministers and even of the Shah himself.

At all events there was no doubt after his return from Mecca that his views were decidedly advanced. He had now composed the volume which was to be for his followers, in relation to the Koran, pretty much what our New Testament is to the Old, and proclaimed himself, or was proclaimed by his followers, to be the *Bab*, i.e., the Gate,—in short, as we should put it, the Way to Eternal Life. His claims naturally were

disputed, and the miraculous evidence which is required to substantiate such claims was demanded. The Oriental notion about miracles seems to our ideas peculiar, and not very logical; reminding one of the attitude of the Jews towards the miracles of the New Testament. Orientals do not see any great abstract improbability in a miracle, and consequently are not very critical as to the evidence; on the other hand they by no means think that by itself a miracle proves much, for the laws of Nature are not understood by them to be immutable, or Divine, and therefore to require a divinely given power to abrogate them. The Bab, in answer to the demand for a sign, pointed to his writings. He had brought with him a commentary on a Sura of the Koran from which he drew novel and unexpected meanings. He could, besides compose a thousand verses in an hour, which was obviously a miracle, and the objection that they were in indifferent Arabic, and had none of the classic elegance of the Koran, was set aside as frivolous. But in truth the feeling on both sides was too warm by this time to be much influenced by nice questions of style or syntax. Excited crowds assembled to listen to the now outspoken utterances of the new teacher, as he denounced the notorious vices of the clergy, pointing out their shortcomings by references to their own Koran, which he still professed to respect, while reserving the fuller developments of his doctrine for more private audiences of his followers as they were able to bear them. At last the local civil authorities took alarm, their fears being naturally fanned by the clergy, and they applied for guidance to Teheran. The Bab, no way disconcerted, sent at the same time an appeal to the Shah, pointing out the danger to religion from the utter corruption of the clergy, and the necessity for the reform which he was preaching, and begging his Sovereign's permission to come with a few of his followers to the capital, and there, in the presence of His Majesty and his chief nobles, to be allowed openly to discuss the points at issue with the assembled chief Mullahs of the kingdom. Here at least was a rational test of the truth of his mission, and it was a bold as well as a straightforward move, for the penalty of failure would be death. At

headquarters the proposition caused much perplexity; the Shah and his ministers did not love the clergy, and it seemed probable that an offer likely to lead to their discomfiture would be accepted; the keener wits in the capital were looking forward, therefore, to a political and intellectual treat, when priestly counsels prevailed, and orders were sent to Shiraz that all public discussions on the matter should cease, and that the Bab should confine himself for the present to his house. Morally, however, the result was a defeat for the clerical party, who had not dared to meet their adversaries. The Bab obeyed orders and stayed at home, but his ardour only increased, his doctrines were rapidly circulated by the disciples who visited him, and he was now proclaimed to be not merely the Gate, through which men might approach and perceive the truth, but the 'Point,' or culmination of the truth, and himself a manifestation of the same. The sect retained, for outsiders at least, the name of Babis, and the earlier title was transferred to his principal follower, a certain Mullah Hussein Bushrawi, a man of great learning, talent, and energy, who was now despatched, the first missionary of the cause, to preach its doctrines in Northern Persia. After various successes at Ispahan and elsewhere, he arrived at Teheran, where the Shah and his minister, in the spirit of Athenian curiosity, sent for him to hear what he had to say. But his eloquent appeal to the sovereign to put himself at the head of the new movement, and earn fame and applause, fell on unsympathetic ears. Any policy that required active effort was eminently distasteful alike to the *fainéant* king and to the shrewd, cultivated, cynical minister. The Mullah, in short, bored them, and he was advised, if he valued his life, to leave the capital without loss of time.

He therefore continued his journey through Khurasan, preaching usually with great success; many members of the more intelligent classes becoming converts from conviction, and the common people from the wish, father to the thought, to recognize in the new prophet the Restorer of all things. But the clerical party were now thoroughly alarmed; Bushrawi was more than once forcibly expelled from the towns; his followers, ardent and enthusiastic, were ready to meet violence

by violence, and though apparently against the preacher's will it was evident that war must soon break out. He accordingly began to concert measures with his fellow-missionary, also a distinguished convert, Mohammed Ali of Balfurush, with a view to permanently establishing a centre for their adherents in the northern province of Mazanderan, which besides offering a greater choice of defensible positions than Khurasan was inhabited by a quieter and less fanatical population. And they were joined by a third ally, whose romantic story would indeed have attracted attention anywhere, but whose appearance under the conditions of modern and Persian Islam is certainly an unique phenomenon. It will be remembered that the enfranchisement of women was one of the leading injunctions of the Bab, and among the early adherents to his doctrine was a young, very beautiful, and accomplished lady, the daughter of a famous Mullah at Kaswin, a town much given over to theological learning. As the *fiancée* of a cousin whose father also was an eminent doctor of religion, she naturally had become familiar with these subjects, and, having listened to the teaching of the new faith, not only embraced it eagerly, but, throwing off the conventional restraints of her sex, came forth as a preacher, calling on all men to follow the new light, and especially urging the duty of women to take their places at such a crisis beside their husbands and brothers. That the mere appearance, in this capacity, of a young and beautiful woman—for in the ardour of preaching the veil would sometimes fall aside—should have attracted the multitude was to be expected, nor was it wonderful that, with a simple and moving eloquence superadded, she should have turned the heads even of grave doctors as well as the hearts of the multitude. She was known as Kurratu'l 'Ain, *i.e.*, Delight of the Eyes, or Hazrat-Tahirah, Her Excellency the Pure, a title which, according to the general testimony of both friends and foes, was indisputably her due. Although educated women are not altogether rare in Persia, it is hardly to be wondered at that the immediate family of Kurratu'l 'Ain should have highly disapproved of so startling a departure both from the conventional and from the orthodox. To say the truth, we can quite con-

ceive that the presence, in an ecclesiastical family circle, of a young lady professing specially intimate and mystic relations with the Divine, might in any part of the world lead to friction. No restraint, however, seems to have been placed on her, but after a time her views were publicly denounced from the pulpit of her uncle. This unhappily led to the murder of the learned doctor by some of the more fanatical adherents of the new sect, and its fair advocate, finding her position in her native town then no longer tenable, entered with the other leaders of the movement on a more general propaganda. As a proof, however, of the moral character of her teaching it is recorded that when some would-be disturber of the peace wished to take advantage of the 'fitrat' or interregnum between the previous and the new dispensation, an occasion when religious duties are believed not to be binding, she repudiated the doctrine, saying that at all times the faithful must follow the spirit and not the letter.

Conversions now multiplied rapidly, and after one or two serious collisions with the orthodox elements of the populace, excited by the preaching of the clergy, the two leaders above mentioned, with some 2,000 of their followers, took the final step of establishing themselves in a local habitation, which should serve as a rallying point for their friends, and give to the movement a more definite position. Sheikh Tabarsi, on which they now retreated, was, from its position among the mountain forests, well suited for purposes of defence, and it was rapidly fortified, armed and provisioned, the singular though untrained ability of the leaders being well seconded by the energy and enthusiasm which such a movement inspires. At length the government perceived the necessity of acting, and after some little delay, caused by the confusion following the death of the reigning Shah, the forces of the state were set in motion. But to their astonishment the government troops, led by the Commander-in-chief and princes of the blood, were shamefully defeated, brilliant sorties and surprises by the besieged carrying havoc and slaughter among them. Superstition, too, fought on their side. Not only were the leaders popularly believed to be in some sort 're-incarnations of certain famous

men of old, but it was understood that death in such a cause was only temporary, and that the slain would return to earth within forty days. On the other hand many of the troops half believed in the Babi claims, and gold pieces and other charmed missiles were in request, as among our own Covenanters, against an enemy under such special protection. After a siege of many months, however, when almost annihilated by fighting and starvation, the remaining handful of heroes surrendered on promise of their lives being granted, and were then summarily massacred. But if locally stamped out by this and subsequent executions, their numbers in all the other provinces of the kingdom were too numerous to be dealt with in this way.

For now the drama of Sheikh Tabarsi was repeated on a much larger scale in the frontier town of Zinjan. Here an influential Mujtahid, one of those semi-inspired religious teachers who are the characteristic product of the Shiah system, having long vexed the consciences and tempers of the faithful by his novel and eccentric ordinances, was summoned to Teheran, and informed that in the interests of peace he must not return again to Zinjan. During his stay at Teheran he fell in with the Babi apostle Mulla Hussein, was rapidly converted, and threw himself heart and soul into the new movement, and being irritated against the government he raised a force of several thousand men, and, returning at their head to Zinjan, proclaimed the Babi faith. An army was of course despatched against him, and after a long and terrible siege, during which the town was nearly destroyed, the survivors, with the Mujtahid at their head, surrendered on promise that their lives should be spared. But again they were nearly all deliberately massacred, the leaders being sent to Teheran, where the Prime Minister ordered their veins to be opened, and they died denouncing this breach of faith, and prophesying (so it is said) a like fate to the minister, which duly befel him; but as Persian governments go it was perhaps not a very hazardous prediction. It may be added here that few of the recorded Babi miracles go beyond what

we might describe as a 'curious coincidence,' or at most a 'special providence.'

It is difficult to ascertain with what feelings the Bab himself viewed as the consequence of his teaching this outbreak of civil war. For us it is easy to see that such a religious movement as his, insisting on a higher morality and conceptions of a far more spiritual character than those of his surroundings, must have tended to bring not peace but rather the sword. Personally he seems to have been essentially inclined to contemplation, a dreamer rather than a man of action; indeed, not the least strange part of the story is that during the whole of the short time of his mission he was practically a prisoner, first at Shiraz, then, under the friendly protection of the Governor, at Ispahan, and afterwards under stricter surveillance in various places in the north-west of Persia. His reputation, therefore, was much at the mercy of enthusiastic disciples and interested and intriguing malcontents, for either class could disseminate in his name the views which they wished to prevail. No subversive political teaching, however, could be brought home to him, unless indeed we must so class the comparatively enlightened and humane reforms we have before quoted, which seem to have been quietly evolved while he lay in his last prison in proximate expectation of death, for the government felt it was time to take urgent measures with the author and source of all this disturbance, which had now its ramifications in every class of society. Under no illusion as to his coming fate, he showed himself not unworthy of the exalted character he claimed, and still fascinated all who had access to him by his patience, gentleness, and singular charm of manner; and the reports of all this—losing nothing in the telling—to the world outside, and still more of his great holiness, his confidence in his lofty pretensions, his mystic periods of illumination, did not tend to diminish his influence. To produce by his death the impression desired, it was necessary that this should take place publicly and beyond all doubt, and he was transferred to Tabriz, an important city, under every circumstance which could tend to shake his constancy or humiliate him, and thereby diminish the respect of the multi-

tude. Two of his disciples accompanied him. When he reached Tabriz the governor sent for the principal Mullahs, and suggested that they should enter into controversy with the prisoner, whom they could of course easily confute. It was quite decided that he was to die; still it would be more satisfactory, both as regarded the effect on the public mind, and even to the official conscience, that the prisoner should himself afford some justification for his sentence. The Mullahs, however, prudently declined, and it is said that some of the attendant officials then assayed the task, but were distinctly worsted in argument. To the questionings of the governor he replied with perfect calmness and dignity. He had in fact committed no overt act against the government, and opinions as heterodox as his had frequently been held without molestation. At the same time the government cannot be severely blamed for holding him responsible for the deeds of violence, or for the seditious teachings of his avowed and not disowned followers. The death sentence was, anyhow, a foregone conclusion, and next morning he was led out between his two faithful followers, all heavily chained, and paraded through the streets, continually beaten and insulted. There was great excitement. Large numbers of the mob were of course on the side of the administration, and attracted by any cruel spectacle; but there were also many sympathisers, and many others half believing in the sanctity of the prisoner, and consequently shocked at the proceedings. After some hours of this torture one of the disciples, Said Hussein, who had been long with him, and is thought to be responsible for many of his utterances, seemed to waver and break down. He was told his life would be saved if he would curse the Bab. He did so. Then, offered immediate freedom if he would spit in his face, he complied. He was at once released, and fled from the place, but bitterly repented, and two years after, as a martyr, witnessed a good confession. The other disciple, Mirza Mohammed Ali, remained firm. Young and rich, and of good position, he had chosen this line, and now when his wife and little children were brought to him to implore him to recant, he respectfully kissed his master's hand, acknowledged his claims before the

assembled people, and only begged as a favour to be allowed to die before him. At length, when the day was nearly over, the two prisoners were brought to the citadel, and ropes being passed under their arms, they were let down over the wall to the open space below, where a platoon of soldiers was stationed ready to fire. And now a strange event occurred, which very nearly changed the fate of the day, and perhaps of the kingdom. There was silence for a moment, and the Mirza was heard to ask his master if he was satisfied with him. Then the soldiers fired. The Mirza was killed, but the Bab remained untouched, only the rope which bound him was cut by a bullet, and he fell to the ground. He rose to his feet, however, immediately. A half-suppressed murmur of wonder and satisfaction at the miracle issued from the crowd, and had he at once mingled with them he must have been safe. The officials would have been powerless, indeed for the moment they were themselves shocked, and more than half under the impression that a miracle had been worked; but their unfortunate victim, exhausted by the sufferings of the day, and stunned or confused, took refuge, by a sort of impulse, in the nearest shelter, a guard-house, where he was speedily cut down by an officer, and the soldiers, thus finding that he was mortal, finished their work.

It is interesting to reflect on what might, if the Bab had escaped, have been the effect both on the government and on the religion of Persia of so well-accredited a miracle. It is not impossible that both might have been changed. As it was, his death had by no means the result hoped for by the government. It could, indeed, according to his teaching, have no prejudicial effect on the cause, for the portion of divinity which animated him would be transferred to another of the mystic 19, who together form the Divine Union by which in this new Manifestation the affairs of the church will be governed—he himself being, as it were, only *primus inter pares*, and besides, as he expressly said, only the precursor of Him who is to be revealed.

A successor was a once nominated, in the person of a young but very distinguished disciple, Mirza Yahya, the

letters of whose name represented the mystic number 19, and who is now known as Subh-i Ezel, the Dawn of Eternity. He issued tranquillizing orders to the faithful, advising them to attend devoutly to their religious duties and to avoid politics, but finding that he was specially watched by the police, he withdrew across the frontier to Baghdad. A rival doctor who had put forth claims to the leadership, and had also retired to the same region, was seized by some members of the sect and summarily drowned in the Euphrates.

Meanwhile, the direct attack on the fountain-head of their religion transformed many of his followers into embittered opponents of the Government. The movement had been intended by its founder to be, at all events for the present, religious and social only, and so far as it had taken a political and aggressive form it had done so, as it were, incidentally, but now the blow struck at the founder turned the wrath of the followers directly against the authority from which it came. They reflected, too, that the Shah had not only slain their master, but had refused to listen to his message when sent to him by the mouth of Bushrawi. Accordingly, an agitation having first been created by the circulation of repeated rumours of the Shah's death, an attempt was made upon his life, the would-be assassins declaring themselves to be Babis, and acting on authority, but no amount of torture could wring any further information from them. Great consternation was felt, for the faith was known to be very widely held, especially among the more intelligent classes. A number of arrests were made, among them the famous Kurratu'l 'Ain, who was then living in Teheran. She was placed in honourable confinement in the house of the chief of the police, and there seems to have been no wish to deal hardly with her, for as usual her beauty and goodness had fascinated all who had to do with her. Her host came one day to congratulate her on her approaching release, for he was authorised to promise her that if, before the court, she would only deny that she was a Babi, she should have life and liberty. Her reply is said to have been that, on the contrary, she knew she would be put to death on the following day, which actually came to pass, for

she scorned to tell the required falsehood or to dishonour her master. The remainder of the accused were put to death, many being previously tortured. Among the victims were many women and children, but all shewed unflinching constancy, even the latter singing as they went to execution, 'We come from God, and are returning to Him.' By a clever arrangement of the Prime Minister they were apportioned for execution among the various high functionaries, so that the vengeance, which would otherwise have concentrated on himself and on the Shah, might be weakened by dissemination. Even the Shah's physician, Dr. Cloquet, was requested to take his share, but the witty Frenchman excused himself on the plea that he was already answerable for so many deaths in his professional practice that he could not thus increase his responsibilities. Among those who perished in this massacre was Said Hussein, the disciple who seemingly, under stress of suffering, had deserted his master just before his execution. It was said that his remorse had ever since been unceasing, and that he rejoiced now to meet his fate, heaping insults on his judges, so that they might increase the severity of his tortures. Tradition on the subject, however,—and it may well be in accord with the facts—has since taken a very pretty turn. It is impossible that so true and brave a man could ever have acted a base part. His apparent desertion of his master was, therefore, really planned between them so that he might escape and carry some important messages from the Bab to his followers! These barbarous cruelties, and the number and character of the victims, added much to the sympathy felt in private for the cause, but it was seen to be highly dangerous to shew any such sympathy, and in fact it tacitly became bad form even to speak of the sect henceforth in other than opprobrious terms—a circumstance which may help to account for the evil reports of them brought back by travellers or others who have mixed only with the official classes.

From his residence at Baghdad the new chief was in a favourable position for influencing the thousands of pilgrims who came yearly to Kerbela, and the Persian Government eventually begged the Turks to remove him to a greater distance

from the frontier; he and his followers were, therefore, sent in 1864 to Adrianople, whence they still kept up secret communication with the faithful in Persia. About this time it was revealed to a certain Behá Ullah, an elder brother of the successor to the Bab, that he was actually 'He whom God will manifest.' This startling claim was denied—it might be long to quote the arguments on either side—by Mirza Yahya, and quarrels arose, which ended by the Turks sending the latter to Cyprus, and Behá to Acre. But they adopted the curious plan of sending with each leader a few of the adherents of the other, so that on the arrival of any Persians on a visit to either, they might hear something to his prejudice! As far as Behá was concerned, his followers settled this difficulty by massacring their erring companions, and the larger number of the sect appears now to have recognized his claims, the admission of which would seem to imply, among other things, nothing less than an immediate expectation of the approaching end of the Age—for Behá is now an old man; but this is a belief by no means confined to the followers of Behá. His writings, which are diligently though secretly circulated among the faithful, are now accepted as necessarily superseding those of the Bab; which, as the rival party plausibly say, it was hardly worth while producing at so much cost if they were to have so short a period of currency.

The latest authorities represent the sect as still, notwithstanding isolated instances of persecution, arising from religious intolerance or private animosity, the most numerous and influential in Persia. A valuable paper, containing some careful notes of the history of the movement written in a highly sympathetic spirit, and some interesting personal reminiscences of certain members of the sect, by Mr. E. G. Browne, appeared in the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1889. The principal authorities on the subject are the narrative of Mirza Kazim Beg, which originally appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, and the always interesting *Religions et Philosophies* of the Comte de Gobineau.

COUTTS TROTTER.

P.S.—Since the above pages were written, there has also appeared a remarkable work, of special value as regards the later developments of the movement, to wit, *A Traveller's Narrative written to Illustrate the Episode of the Báb* (Cambridge: University Press), translated from the Persian, with an introduction and copious notes by Mr. E. G. Browne. The extracts he gives from the writings and conversation of Behá are certainly very remarkable, not only for their spirituality and elevation of tone, but for the breadth of view and general knowledge they disclose; his eloquent plea, addressed to the Shah of Persia, for toleration—naturally no doubt a popular doctrine for a minority—being enforced by references not only to the modern but to the mediæval history of Europe! The details of the schism in the sect are curious, and Mr. Browne's account of his interviews with the divinely inspired rivals is interesting and picturesque; psychologically, not the least curious thing in his book is the mental attitude of the accomplished author towards the movement generally.

ART. V.—JOHN MAJOR, SCOTTISH SCHOLASTIC,
1470-1550.

1. *A History of Greater Britain, as well England as Scotland, compiled from the Ancient Authorities.* By JOHN MAJOR, by name indeed a Scot, but by profession a Theologian, 1521. Translated and Edited with Notes by ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author by ÆNEAS J. G. MACKAY. (Scottish History Society.) Edinburgh, 1892.
2. *Magistri Johannis Majoris libri. . . Termini; Summulæ; Exponibilia; Insolubilia; Obligationis, etc.* Paris, 1506.
3. *In Primum [Secundum, Tertium, Quartum] Sententiarum.* Paris, 1509-1528.
4. *In Matthæum ad literam Expositio.* Paris, 1518.
5. *Introductorium in Aristotelicam Dialecticem.* Paris, 1521.

6. *Octo Libri Physicorum cum Nat. Philosophia et Metaphysica.* Paris, 1526.
7. *In Quatuor Evangelia Expositiones.* Paris, 1529.
8. *Ethica Aristotelis cum Commentariis.* Paris, 1530.

TO many it will appear strange that a famous Scotsman's History of Scotland, written in Latin in 1521, should have remained for three hundred and seventy years without a translator. The work has many points of national and popular interest. It was written years before John Knox and the Reformation gave a new character to his countrymen and a new colour to their history, by a learned divine of European reputation, devotedly attached to the Church of Rome, and yet a thorough Scot, who scarcely wrote a chapter which does not bear witness to his genuine love of country and home. 'John Major, too, was the first man to write the chronicles of Scotland, or rather of 'Greater Britain,' in a broad and independent spirit. He says, indeed, half apologetically and with some humour, that he intended to tell his story *theologico ferme stylo*. His pen would have refused to write in any other style. His Latin is rugged, abrupt, and concise often to obscurity, as the Latin of a professional *Sententiarium* might be expected to be. He cannot refrain from throwing his reflections into the form of syllogisms, and delights in closing a paragraph with a triumphant *Igitur*. But this is not all that he meant by the theological style. Major is not content to compile mere annals. He passes judgment upon the facts of conduct as they are presented to him. This he approves, that he disapproves. 'Now the manner of the Scholastics,' he writes, in a passage quoted from his *In Quartum Sententiarum*, by Mr. Constable, 'and a laudable manner it is, is this: that every man shall say freely what he thinks. . . Aught else is unbecoming to a theologian.' 'To forbid discussion,' he says again, 'is to entangle men in the error of Mahomet.' Major therefore discusses freely the conduct of kings and prelates, the condition of the people, the tenure of land, the relation of noble to peasant, and the national characteristics generally. He has strong political opinions, and shows on some points remarkable foresight. Pro-

fessor Masson has called him 'the first Scottish radical;' and he must have stood almost alone among his countrymen in his earnest advocacy of the union of the kingdoms. It was in his belief in the unity of their destinies that he combined their history under the one title of 'Greater Britain.'

While the mannerisms of the theologian, the quaint language, the undercurrent of pleasant irony, combined with singular simplicity and directness, give a certain piquancy to his sufficiently original narrative, these characteristics undoubtedly render all the more difficult the task of the translator. To Mr. Archibald Constable the highest praise is due. He has spared no pains to understand his author's way of thinking, and is perhaps the only Scotsman of the last three centuries who has read from cover to cover Major's *Commentary on the Fourth Book of the Sentences*. Readers will admire the antique flavour of his English, the neat scholarship, and the excellent taste which here go to the making of a model translation.

It is not, however, the aim of the present article to pass under review the subject matter of the *History* as such. The main interest of the work, indeed, to many minds will consist not so much in the objective narrative as in the author's personality and in the relation such a man as Major held to his own time and the times which followed. As a literary production its charm lies in its antiquity; and its features which most pleasantly appeal to our fancy are not those which accord best with our present modes of thought but those which are most foreign to them. M. Renan remarks in his excellent essay on Averrhoës, 'Il ne faut pas demander au passé que le passé lui-même,' and he adds that political history is ennobled since we have ceased to seek from it lessons of conduct; while the interest of the history of philosophy lies less perhaps in the positive instruction we can draw from it than in the picture it gives of the evolution of the human mind. Something of this kind has apparently been felt by the editor of the present volume. The book is, at any rate, put forward not only as a curious and ancient history of Scotland, but as a picture of John Major and his school of thought. Mr. Æneas Mackay has prefixed to it a new and comprehensive biography of the

author, in which his opinions, philosophical, theological, and political, are treated with some fulness. There is further added an Appendix, in which, besides a bibliography of the literary work of Major and his disciples, there is printed an almost complete collection of the dedications, epistles, and dialogues which serve as prefaces to his numerous publications.

This article will, then, deal with Major not as an historian but as a professional schoolman, and will attempt to illustrate his character and position as a theological teacher by way of comment or criticism upon the views presented by Mr. Constable and Mr. Æneas Mackay. This is the more necessary as it had long been a tradition among Scottish writers that Major was in some sort a 'precursor of the Reformation,' that his opinions were at least much influenced by the new learning, and form a transition between orthodox scholasticism and the teaching of Knox and Buchanan. Colour is given to this notion by the fact that Major held political doctrines which foreshadowed those of Buchanan, and that he stoutly maintained the ecclesiastical principles known as Gallican, placing the authority of councils above that of the Pope and generally minimising the papal powers in relation to the State. Mr. Mackay is not ready to defend quite so untenable a position. He very truly remarks that 'Major stands firm in the paths of the Roman and Catholic Church, and treats all deviation from its doctrine as pestilent and poisonous heresy. But like the best Romanists of his age, he favours reforms within the Church and by the Church itself.' Yet Mr. Mackay takes pains to emphasise certain passages which seem to suggest to him opinions—singular, novel, daring and suspicious, if not absolutely heterodox. Thus, Major's language on excommunication is characterized as 'bold' for an ecclesiastic, and it is suggested that by 'allowing excommunication for contumacy' he left 'a loophole' which explains 'how he and men of his views were tolerated.' He is quoted, too, as 'condemning the multiplication of miracles,' and asserting that 'miracles do not prove holiness,' and that 'a vow of chastity might be a vow of the foolish virgins if it hurt the State.' He

is said to show 'a skeptical tendency.' The fact that he was invited by Wolsey to take a chair in the Cardinal's new college at Oxford shows 'how near he stood—and was deemed by some of his contemporaries to stand—to the parting of the ways between the mediæval and modern plans of education.' Finally, 'he may be considered,' writes Mr. Mackay, 'as Ockham has also been, an unconscious precursor of the Reformation, in spite of his resting finally in all questions of faith in rigidly orthodox conclusions.' This estimate of Major's theological position is further implied by the favourite pupil of Scotus, in Mr. Mackay's theories that Major, a secular priest, was devoted to the Franciscan order; that he belonged to the Scotist school, 'which separated itself from the hitherto orthodox school of Thomas Aquinas'; that the Scotists, though they claimed as much as the Thomists to be orthodox, were perhaps 'the more vehement in their assertions of the soundness of their doctrine in order to allay suspicions;' and that, in fact, the subtle Doctor himself, for certain reasons, has been 'looked upon with suspicion by the Church.' Moreover, we are told, 'the Franciscans generally—for there were exceptions—opposed the absolute power of the Pope,' and 'their doctrine of evangelical poverty cut at the roots as has been well pointed out by Mr. Owen, both of the temporal power and the excessive wealth of the prelates,' etc. 'No one,' says Mr. Mackay, 'accepted more completely than Major this doctrine.'

Now, seeing that John Major is the single genuine Scottish schoolman whom Scotland can boast of—for there is far too much doubt about the nationality of Duns Scotus to claim him, as Major does, for a countryman*—Mr. Mackay has started or revived a question of considerable interest. To some, perhaps, his view of Major's position will appear to rob his life and character of their greatest charm. For Major has been certainly regarded, especially by Roman Catholics, as a typical representative of the pre-reformation schoolman, a good and solid

* Mackenzie, without sufficient authority, makes John de Bassolis, to be also a Scotsman.

specimen of the old fashioned orthodoxy; a man who learnt as little from Erasmus as from Luther, and who as a Catholic rather lagged behind than marched with the times; an honest, amiable and genial professor, of the highest moral character, who, indeed, keenly felt the ecclesiastical abuses prevalent in his time, and, after the manner of his class, spoke out his mind clearly and strongly, but whose loyalty to his church and creed was untainted with the least suspicion of a leaning towards the methods or ideas of the New Learning.

In any case we ought to know more of the man and his work, and get our knowledge direct from his books. We all understand something of Luther and Calvin, Erasmus and Colet, for—different as they are—their ideas live, and have helped to make our age what it is. But between ourselves and the scholastics of Major's kind there is a wider gulf—a gulf which parts them mentally, in a very marked degree, from even their own natural successors, the Tridentine schoolmen of the succeeding generation. Major, therefore, if only as an intellectual fossil, a unique Scottish specimen from certain strata of European thought, deserves reverent study from all theological antiquaries. But, first of all, it is only fair to set his character free from any prejudices which might be created in the reader's mind if the criticisms, just referred to, were left unexplained.

Major's political liberalism—the only matter in which he was liberal at all—was essentially the liberalism of the Middle Ages. His theories on popular rights were, as Mr. Hume Brown, in his life of Buchanan, has sufficiently indicated, in substantial agreement with the doctrines of Aquinas, Scotus, Gerson, and John of Salisbury. There is no need to seek for them in the more revolutionary ideas of Ockham or of Marsiglio of Padua, nor were they so peculiar to Major that Buchanan must be supposed to have derived his own theories from the master whom he despised. It is no paradox to say, also, that Major's restricted views of papal supremacy were a further proof of the rather antiquated conservatism which seems generally to have distinguished his theology. These Gallican views came to the front as an almost necessary outcome of the

weakness and confusion of the central authority during the great schism and the quarrels between rival popes. The attempt to establish a sort of parliamentary government by way of periodical councils as the ruling power of the Church proved a lamentable failure. The Council of Basle, by a decree, discarded by Rome, in vain declared that councils were above the Pope; and, in the reaction which followed the practical victory of the papacy, the views of the Conciliar or Gallican party were almost confined to France. Major held to the old doctrine, not because Ockham taught it, but as he says, because it was the doctrine of his university, of all France and of the Council of Basle. There was nothing either singular or novel in his teaching on this matter. It was the teaching of Gerson before him and of Bossuet after him. Practically, it amounted to very little. Next to the authority of Scripture, Major puts the decrees of the Pope, 'which have passed through fire and water,' and he maintains, against the opinions of many divines, the infallibility of the canonization of saints, which rests upon papal definitions.

With regard to evangelical poverty it has not been shown that Major ever let drop a word which was not strictly in accordance with the Catholic spirit. Other orders besides the Franciscans made vows of poverty, and such vows must necessarily have been defended by Major, who knew well enough how to distinguish between evangelical precept and counsel. He may have admired the Franciscans, but he preferred the Carthusians, whose life he expressly extols as the ideal of Christian perfection. The Franciscans in their golden age, were, as a body, the most enthusiastic friends of the poor and the oppressed which the world has yet seen. A fanatical party among them, called the 'Spiritual Franciscans' or 'Zealots,' goaded by the luxury and avarice of the papal court, proclaimed that Jesus and the Apostles embraced lives of absolute poverty and had no possessions whatever. This apparently harmless proposition had its sting, which was felt by John XXII., who condemned it. The Franciscan Zealots were obstinate, and found a champion in Ockham, a theological genius, whose system of logic and metaphysics was largely followed

by Major. The disturbance for a time shook the order, which above all others was in principle committed to, and as a rule observed, the most absolute loyalty to the Holy See. But Major could have had not the least interest in, or sympathy with, the exploded cause of some rebellious friars. Indeed he—so far from accepting the so-called Franciscan doctrine—denounces the condemned proposition as formal heresy, quotes at length the constitution of John XXII., reminds his pupils that the definition of a pope interpreting scripture must be believed, and winds up a long argument with a word of kindly advice to his Franciscan friends, not to trouble themselves about the poverty of Christ or the affairs of Ockham, but to keep their own excellent rule (*In Quart. Sent.*, dist. xxxviii. qu. 13; Cf. *In IV. Evang.*, fo. cxxvii. b.) Major does assert that ‘miracles do not prove sanctity,’ and rightly so in the mind of every Catholic. In what sense he was opposed to the multiplicity of miracles we shall presently see. When, again, he declares that many excommunicated persons go to heaven, he states a fact which at least no canonist of his day would have dared to dispute; and when he ‘allows’ that the censure in question falls on the ‘contumacious,’ he is making no concession, nor leaving any ‘loophole,’ but simply laying down the elements of the law as defined in every text book. For the mere validity of excommunication, according to Catholic law, it is essential that the offence for which it is inflicted should be a grave sin against a precept of the church, *peccatum exter- num, consummatum, conjunctum cum contumaciâ*. ‘Joined with contumacy,’ says Gury, referring to Liguori, ‘because the principal end of this censure is to break down obstinacy.’ ‘Does ignorance of the law excuse a man from the censure?’ asks Liguori. Certainly, is the answer, ‘for how, if thus ignorant, can a man be contumacious.’ In fact, as Major very properly remarks, an innocent man may be, and often has been *unjustly* excommunicated. A man *justly* excommunicated may become contrite and restored to grace, and yet unable to get absolution before death. The uninstructed and superstitious laity were over fearful of the effects of a merely material sentence, and wise men—and Major in this instance was a wise man—

did their best to assure the faithful that such thunderbolts were innocuous against a good conscience. Robert of Sorbonne, a stern moralist of the thirteenth century—whose name Major would have held in veneration—lecturing or preaching on the ethics of matrimony, lays down the duty of a man whose supposed marriage was, through some secret impediment, invalid. He imagines the man to plead, 'If I were to act as you advise, I should be cited before the judge or the bishop, and probably excommunicated.' 'What of that?' answers the preacher. 'Better any day suffer excommunication, with bells ringing and candles lighted, and have your body cast to the dogs, than continue to live in sin. *Such excommunications would only give you the more merit.*' This is quite in Major's manner—boldly put, if you will, but thoroughly mediæval and Catholic in spirit. Similarly, if Major is wrath against wealthy bishops squandering or alienating the patrimony of the poor, or if he denounces the robberies of usurious merchants, his language is moderate compared with that of another learned doctor, also of the thirteenth century, who could think of no remedy for this 'calamity' of Christendom but that the pope should call a General Council and with the aid of princes 'compel all the rich to work, either spiritually or corporally, for their daily bread, as the apostle commanded, so that there may be no more idle men.' Thus, remarks M. Hauréau, who prints the passage [*Notices et extraits de quelques MSS. Latins*, Vol. I., p. 171], all the world was to consist of either *curés* or artisans. This Christian socialist of the Middle Ages is, it appears, the Englishman, Robert of Courçon, canon of Noyon, afterwards Cardinal.

For all that concerns Major's early life in Scotland and England, his professional career in the colleges of Montaigu, Navarre and the Sorbonne at the University of Paris, his literary activity, especially in the sphere of Logic, the reader must go to the ample and interesting sketch, drawn up with the aid of many new sources, by Mr. Mackay. The selected list at the head of this article gives a very inadequate idea of the number and variety of Major's publications, continued with scarcely a break, for 27 years, *i.e.*, from 1503, the thirty-third

year of his age, when he printed his 'Exponibilia,' to 1530, in which year he dedicated his commentary on the Ethics of Aristotle to Cardinal Wolsey. But the *magnum opus* of his life was the Commentary on the Four Books of the Sentences of Peter Lombard. His first book went through three editions, 1510, 1519, 1530; the second also through three, 1510, 1519, 1528. The third was printed twice, in 1517 and 1528; and the fourth passed through the press four times under the author's eye, 1509, 1512, 1516, and 1519. For this great production the logical, physical and metaphysical treatises were as a mere scaffolding. The exposition of Scripture, was, like his History, a parergon. His great renown was founded on his teaching as a scholastic theologian. Now scholastic theology after Major's time passed, as has been said, into a new phase, and reached indeed, so its votaries declare, its golden age in the early part of the seventeenth century. Before the end of that century it had passed its prime and lost its original productive power. It however preserved some vitality, from a bibliographical point of view, till the middle of the eighteenth century. Its shadow haunts religious houses and episcopal seminaries to this day. It is impossible to realize Major's mental situation without some understanding of the methods and principles of his favourite and well nigh obsolete science. Who then were these Schoolmen, this Master of the Sentences, these Thomists and Scotists, and at what were they all aiming?

Scholastic, more properly called Speculative, theology is said to have derived its name from the schools founded in connection with religious houses in the time of Charlemagne. Theoretically it begins where positive or dogmatic theology ends. The creeds of the Church, the dogmas of the faith, are the assumed first principles upon which the theologian attempts to build up a science—the queen or 'goddess of sciences,' as Gavin Douglas calls her in the dialogue prefacing one of Major's works—by the aid of natural reason. It is true that the scholastics very commonly offer proofs of revealed dogma or even of natural religion, but this is rather to test the question, often much debated, whether such truths are, or are not, capable of rational demonstration. The system is essentially one of free

enquiry outside the boundary of defined dogma. The schoolmen indeed revelled in this liberty, such as it was. They were at once zealots for the faith and passionate, if sometimes foolish, lovers of philosophy. It was an accident that the philosophy utilized for their purpose was in the main that of Aristotle, again and again proscribed and as frequently revived. Speculation soon ran wild. Foreseeing possible danger to the creed itself, and desirous of bringing divines back to the safer paths of the older theology, Peter Lombard (who died Bishop of Paris, c. 1160) constructed his immortal Sentences. He collected together passages of the Fathers bearing on the chief topics of dispute, balanced opinions on this side and that, and often suggested rather than pronounced decisions of his own. The matter of his four books is arranged in a series of sections appropriately called Distinctions, each of which contains on an average some dozen Questions. The first book contains 48 distinctions concerning the divine attributes; the second 44 distinctions on creation, angels and men, free will and grace. The third book treats in 40 distinctions of the Incarnation, the virtues and commandments; while the fourth discusses the seven sacraments, the judgment, heaven, and hell. It is not a large work. The whole may be comprised in a small 4to volume of less than 600 pages. How it came about that Peter Lombard's treatise was at once adopted by all the schools as the one universally recognised text-book, and so remained for four centuries—not indeed dropping out of use for two centuries longer—is something of a mystery. The Master of the Sentences was not himself a great authority, and was not free from errors. His plan was not altogether new. It will be noticed, too, that important topics, the *Loci theologici*, questions on the authority of Scripture, tradition, councils, and Popes, find no place in his scheme, and there is little room for the discussion of the questions which lie at the basis of the more modern treatises of moral theology. His book was, however, the success of the Middle Ages. No book, save the Bible, was so commented upon. The text itself has been printed, say, little more than eighty times, but the extant commentaries in print or MS. are literally to be counted by thousands. In England

alone, before the Reformation, there were at least 160 commentators, among whom are found 46 Franciscans, 42 Carmelites, 28 Dominicans, 10 Augustinians, 6 Benedictines, and 2 Cistercians. New commentaries on the sentences, and commentaries on the commentaries of Scotus on the sentences, continued to issue from the press till the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is needless to remark that the comparatively sensible object which the Master set before himself was not realised. The old evil was rather aggravated, for divines seeing the decisions of the ancients served up for them in so convenient a fashion, were the more readily tempted to dispense themselves from any further reference to the fathers. Theology entered upon a new stage with St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). His powerful intellect, his wise moderation, and the comparative lucidity of the method which he instituted in his *Summa*, did not indeed induce theologians to abandon the sentences upon which St. Thomas himself commented. But his great name led to the formation of a definite school, which counted its disciples far beyond the limits of his own order. In this there was manifest danger to freedom of thought, for theological conclusions, when generally accepted, are apt to become crystallized into dogma. The threatened dictatorship of the great Dominican was happily averted by the searching criticisms of a modest and devout Franciscan, known in the schools as the 'subtle doctor,' and out of them as 'the prince of sophists.' This John Duns Scotus (d. 1308) was immediately hailed as the chosen master of his order. Henceforward, until this dualism was in turn disturbed by the intervention of a third school, that of the Nominalists under William Ockham, divines were roughly ranged in the two equally orthodox and legitimate camps of Thomist and Scotist.

It is impossible to barely name here a tithe of the differences between them—differences in principle and in detail which cover the whole range of speculative theology. It is important to bear in mind that in all matters regarding the rule of faith Thomists and Scotists were at one. 'To Scotus no less than to St. Thomas,' says Dr. Werner, quoted in Addis and Arnold's *Dictionary*, 'the Pope is the supreme guardian and

divinely instituted exponent of the deposit of faith.' Both also recognised Aristotle as the highest philosophical authority, though Scotus adopted many Platonic ideas, and some of his disciples went so far as to extol Plato above Aristotle himself. The object of both doctors was to establish harmony between metaphysics and dogma. Ueberweg, who gives in brief the clearest account of Scotist characteristics, remarks that Scotus was essentially a critic, that his early mathematical training had taught him what was meant by proving, and that he accordingly refused to recognise in many of the pretended proofs offered any real proof at all. Thus creation out of nothing and the immortality of the soul were demonstrable to St. Thomas but not so to Scotus. With the latter the strictest and most childlike faith in Christian doctrines was united to a sturdy scepticism in regard to the arguments by which they were commonly maintained. His temper in this respect was somewhat akin to that of Cardinal Newman. His fundamental principle in psychology was 'the will is superior to the intellect.' With Aquinas it was quite the other way. According to the Dominican God commands what is good because it is good; according to Scotus the good is good because God commands it. The theology of the most subtle of the schoolmen, coloured perhaps by the influence of St. Bonaventura, was in fact the most emotional. St. Thomas places beatitude in the knowledge of God, Scotus in the love of God. A modern writer not unfairly contrasts 'the serene masculine discernment of the Dominican order' with the more 'feminine, sentimental, and impressionable intellectualism of the followers of St. Francis.'

It has been said that Scotism is now dead. This is true of the system, as a whole, for the excessive realism upon which its philosophy is based—the tendency to make real entities of every universal or mental abstraction—is hopelessly irreconcilable with modern modes of thought. But many leading and characteristic ideas of Scotus have become the common possession of the modern eclectic schools. The triumph of Scotus was the Immaculate Conception, which has even passed into a dogma of his church. The so-called Scotist theory of

the incarnation which teaches that the Word made man was decreed before the foresight of the Fall, and that Jesus would have come into the world in impassible flesh, as the crown of creation, if Adam had not sinned—a doctrine, by the way, to which Major is indifferent, treating it as problematical—has been largely taken up outside the Franciscan ranks. The Jesuit Suarez held it. Father Faber popularized it among Catholics in England, and the Abbé Combalot* in France. It has been even adopted by Lutheran theologians in Germany. The Scotist doctrine on the *moral* causality of the sacraments—defended by Major—in opposition to the *physical* causation of the Thomists has become generally received. More important than any of these are the fundamental differences between the two schools on free will, grace and predestination, the Scotist leaning to the Pelagian side, against what is commonly called the ‘Calvinistic’ tendencies of the Thomists. Scotist doctrine is here only dead, inasmuch as it is lost in the more radical, novel, and successful opposition to Thomism in a similar direction on the part of the Molinist section of the Jesuit school; and in view of the supposed prevalence of Thomist doctrine at the present day it is noteworthy that the two saints, Francis of Sales and Liguori, recently raised by Pius IX. to the dignity of ‘Doctors of the Church,’ were both conspicuous for their adherence to what is called the Pelagianising theories of the Jesuits, Molina, and Lessius.

But to return to the Middle Ages. An incident of one among many of the old scholastic disputes will illustrate the readiness with which the rival parties, when their passions were excited, hurled at each other charges of heresy, in contrast with the more prudent temporising, if not serene toleration, of the See of Rome. There was at one time hot debate regarding the blood shed by Christ on the ground or on the cross during the Passion. The Dominicans asserted that every drop of blood re-assumed by Christ after the Resurrection remained, in the interval of his death, hypostatically united

* *La connaissance de Jésus-Christ, ou le dogme de l'incarnation envisagé comme la raison dernière et suprême de tout ce qui est*, 1841.

with the divinity, and was adorable by *latria*. The Franciscans denied this. James de la Marche preached the Franciscan doctrine from the pulpit in Easter, 1462. The Dominican inquisitor called upon the holy Franciscan to retract his opinion as heretical. He, on the contrary, repeated it on the following Tuesday. The case was then brought before Pius II. The Pope, says Billuart, a zealous Dominican doctor, would not condemn the Franciscans because they were useful to him just then in preaching the crusades. The Franciscan doctrine, which, by the way, is rejected by the prudent Major, was subsequently rendered barely tenable by a decree of the Council of Trent. Suarez, at least, calls it *nec pia nec secura*. Pius II., however, had contented himself with forbidding the Dominicans to censure it as heretical. When the cause of St. James' beatification was introduced, the devil's advocate brought up against him this erroneous teaching. It was finally decided by the sacred congregation that the opinion in question was in the fifteenth century 'probable,' and accordingly Benedict XIII. canonized the bold preacher without scruple.*

It must not be imagined that every Dominican was a strict Thomist or every Franciscan a Scotist. There were a number of independent thinkers on either side. Major constantly singles out for praise men of this sort on the ground that they were not content simply *jurare in verba magistri*. Thus he often mentions with approval Henry of Ghent, a Dominican who departed from Thomism in the direction of Platonism and Scotism. Richard Middleton, another favourite of Major's and an eminent doctor, was one of what M. Hauréau calls the 'unfaithful Franciscans.' The first broad departure from the two dominant schools was taken almost simultaneously by Durandus a S. Portiano, a Dominican, and Peter Auriol the Franciscan (d. 1345), who in a marked degree initiated or rather revived the philosophy of the Nominalists. Peter derided the search for the principle of individuation—the main effort of Thomist and Scotist alike—as utterly vain, and declared that the theories of Scotus on genera and species were a revival of

* The whole story is told in Faber's *Essay on Beatification*, p. 45.

the errors of Plato. But it was reserved for William of Ockham (d. 1347), commonly said, though not apparently without doubt, to have been a pupil of Scotus, to formulate into a complete system this opposition to the prevalent realism. He in consequence earned from his disciples the title of 'venerabilis inceptor.' He sums up the Scotist theory of universals with the rude conclusion, 'Ista opinio est simpliciter falsa et absurda.' The Dominicans were delighted, for though Ockham was no friend of theirs, his hardest blows fell upon their rivals. 'A most bitter antagonist of his master,' he was, says Wadding,* but he 'sinned not so much in impugning the doctrine of his master as in rebelling against the teacher of the universal Church John XXII.' The editor of the *Opera Omnia* of Scotus consoles himself with the feeble rumours which he had somewhere read, that Ockham repented, and was in Ireland venerated as a saint. The originality and acuteness of Ockham would have made him a far greater power in the church had it not been for the prejudices excited by his revolutionary attitude towards the papal power. As it was, his philosophy had a notable influence upon the doctrine of his age, and is said to mark the final stage of mediæval scholasticism.

Now certain critics of Major tell us that he was a Scotist—they tell us also that he was a Nominalist. Can we make him therefore personally responsible for the tendencies, good or evil, which underlie both or either of the two opposing schools?

Historians of philosophy whose interest in the Catholic schools generally ceases when the moment of the Reformation is reached, and whose aim is to discover the relations which may exist between the mediæval Catholic and modern non-Catholic systems justly examine with magnifying glasses any primitive metaphysical germs which seem to reveal the sources of modern evolutions. M. Hauréau closes his interesting and suggestive analysis with the air of a prophet. He appears to be keenly alive to the latent dangers of Scotism. 'Pantheism,' he declares, and not of course without ground,

* *Vita Scoti* (Mons, 1644), p. 128.

'is the normal conclusion, the rational conclusion of realism,' and he pronounces Scotus to be the true forerunner of Spinoza. On the other hand, he finds that 'the modern spirit' which, 'according to M. Rémusat, showed itself long ago in Abelard,' came to maturity in Ockham. 'Ockham's philosophical conclusion' is, in fact, 'exactly that of Locke or that developed by Kant.*' This may be true enough of the principles in question; and it is a fair and intelligible form of speech to describe the original thinker and formulator of a system, however unconscious he may have been of its ultimate issues, as the precursor of the man who logically carried them out. But it is impossible to think of Major—a man who originated nothing and who developed nothing, a mere retailer of the current ideas of his age—as the precursor of anything. He was simply an educational product. Moreover, as he personally was unconscious of any tendency in his Scotism, such as it was, towards Spinoza, or of any proclivity in Nominalism towards Locke, so also was his church. While Major taught at Paris there were maintained at Salamanca—the orthodox centre of the new scholastic revival—by the side of the *Cathedra major* devoted to the elucidation of the sentences, three so called minor chairs, the *Cathedra Thomæ*, the *Cathedra Scoti*, and the *Cathedra Nominalium*, otherwise styled the *Cathedra Durandi*.† Wadding says that the Chair of Scotus, founded at Coimbra, was equal in authority and emoluments to that of St. Thomas, while the Scotist Chair at Alcalá held there the first place. It cannot surely be said that the Church regarded the doctrine of Scotus with suspicion.

But in truth Major was a thorough eclectic. He belonged strictly to no school except so far as he faithfully adhered to the traditions of his own university. He prided himself on his independence. In order to get a good text of Scotus' *Reportata*, he encouraged two Franciscan friends to edit the work carefully. He himself edited the work of Adam Goddam, one

* *Histoire de la philosophie scholastique*, Vol. II.. Chap. xxx.

† Dr. Carl. Werner, *Der Uebergang der Scholastik in ihr nachtridentinisches Entwicklungsstadium* (Wien 1887), p. 5.

of the 'unfaithful' Franciscans, and an opponent of Scotus. He often differs from the Nominalists or attempts to reconcile them with the Realists. For Gabriel Biel he seems to have as much dislike as for Caxton. He frequently quarrels with Ockham on important points. He has a partiality for Scotus, whom he likes to call *Conterraneus*, and where Major's philosophic principles permit it, he probably agrees more often with Scotus than S. Thomas: and in this wide sense only can he be called Scotist at all. He will reject an opinion of Scotus tenderly with the remark '*utinam tam vera quam pia!*' and as a rule adheres to him just on those points where the subtle Doctor is largely followed by more recent theologians. Major as a theologian is for his date moderate and safe. He lays down the timid rule '*sententia communior, ergo verior.*' He dislikes novelties, and apologises if he is found on the side of the *neoterici*. He had some learning, a good memory, and much shrewd sense. He was fond of anecdote, and addicted to digressions; his books are therefore a storehouse of information on all manner of antiquarian lore, the habits of 'brownies,' the incomes of bishops, curiosities of natural history, and agricultural prices. He had read, and quotes constantly, the Latin classics, but the spirit of humanism had not touched him.* For the ways and ideas of Erasmus and Colet he had an undisguised aversion. He was indeed a great censor of morals, but there was nothing of the practical reformer about him. The liberal Catholics of his day minimised miracles, made a jest of the religious orders and would lessen their number, exaggerated the barbarities and inaccuracies of the Vulgate, and cried for a new version or a return to the original texts. Their method of biblical exegesis was new. They were offended by the abuse of logical forms, by the place given to Aristotle, and by the trivial questions which occupied the schools. They would reform the ritual, and would give the communion cup to the laity. Colet on one occasion, referred to by Mr. Constable, lost his temper and his manners in deriding the veneration given to relics. How far Major was from any such attitude will be at once apparent. His admiration for Aristotle amounted to worship. He seems to have regarded him not only

as the ultimate authority on all matters of natural science but as a saint. He is angry with an opponent who suggests that two religious orders would suffice for the church. He holds to the integrity of the Vulgate down to the least syllable, to the old methods of interpretation, to the old ritual, to the old ways of teaching. He was a good man, an amiable man and beloved by his pupils, but he was every inch a mediæval scholastic.

It is time, however, to offer the reader some taste of a commentary on the Sentences in the first decades of the sixteenth century, and to let the professor speak for himself, though there be no room to give any idea of the prolixity, the intricacy, and tediousness of his method, where a dozen arguments are followed by as many objections, distinctions, and answers, on a single insignificant and barely intelligible point.

Take for example the question (*In Tertium*, dist. ii. qu. 1) whether the Divine Word could assume an irrational nature. On this matter there are two or rather three opinions, says Major. Henry of Ghent, a disciple of Albertus Magnus who, as has been said, went over from the Dominican to the Scotist school, maintains with Picus of Mirandola, the negative. Middleton, an English Franciscan, viewed the question, very wisely it may be thought, as 'problematical.' A third opinion 'more common and therefore the truer' holds the affirmative, which is proved thus. The word did *de facto* assume an irrational nature, for in the triduum of the Passion the soul of Christ was separated from the body and no longer informed it. Yet the body was hypostatically united to the Divine Word. At this point Gabriel Biel—the famous Nominalist who to the great injury of Major and his successors, has sometimes been described as 'the last of the scholastics,' interposes in support of 'a sophistical evasion,'—viz., that the body was not

* 'He belonged essentially to an exhausted movement' writes Mr. Hume Brown, in *The Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan*, (Scot. Text Soc., 1892, p. xiii.) In this work, which has appeared since the present paper was written, Mr. Brown expresses very forcibly the just estimate of Major which he had previously formed in his *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, pp. 38-43.

immediately united—alleging a dictum of Alexander Hales, the master of Scotus, to the effect that if the hypostatic union had been withdrawn from the soul it would also have left the body of Christ. Of what worth is this testimony of Alexander, asks Major, if he does not bring proof of it? 'I say here that many things whether asserted by this man [Gabriel] or by Alexander are to be utterly rejected. It is false to say that the body was hypostatically united *mediante anima*.' Major proceeds to argue that God could 'assume,' in some or other union according to its nature, any created thing. The objector urges that in such a case the following syllogism might hold good: *Deus est asinus; omnis asinus est animal stolidum*, therefore God is *animal stolidum*. Major is not to be frightened. He would concede the proposition, *Deus est asinus* and *Deus habet longas aures*, but would deny that *Deus est animal stolidum* for, on the contrary, in the case supposed, the ass would know all things. Further questions whether God could hypostatically assume 'a sinner,' or could assume 'whiteness,' involve some distinctions and evasions. On the latter hypothesis it appears that you could not say 'God is white,' but you could say at least 'God sustains whiteness.' Finally Major returns to the more fascinating question of the ass; for an opponent has argued that 'an angel could not become an ass, therefore neither could God.' The answer is triumphant, *Nego antecedens, connotative captis terminis*, for God might assume both the angel and the ass, and then, etc. But the professor bids his pupils remember that it would be imprudent in the public schools, before a number of laymen, to moot such propositions as that God could be a cow and at the same time assume hay; or assume both a mouse and cheese and so eat Himself, or assume heat and cold, and so be in contradiction to Himself, for to maintain such things, though proper enough for those who have understanding, might in addition to other inconveniences give scandal to the ignorant.

Fortunately for intellectual progress it was not the ignorant only who were scandalized. 'I have seen John Major's commentaries on Peter Lombard, says Melanchthon. 'He is now, I am told, the prince of the Paris divines. Good heavens!

what waggon loads of trifling! What pages he fills with disputes whether there can be any horsemanship without a horse, whether the sea was salt when God made it. If he is a specimen of the Parisian, no wonder they have so little stomach for Luther.' But Major was not irreverent, and he had at least on other subjects some sense of humour. He certainly did not wish to subject the cardinal doctrine of Christianity to a *reductio ad absurdum*. He was no sceptic, but wrote as he did in the fulness of a faith which could move mountains.

The reader who is not afraid of being shocked should turn for some similar curiosities to the questions (*In Quart.*, dist. x.) concerning the localisation of the body of Jesus in the host, whether Jesus is in the eucharist so many feet in height, whether the head is joined to the neck, the feet separated from the head at the same distance as in heaven, whether the body is turned upside down, etc. In the interests of his science, Major vivisects the dogma with a coolness and cruelty which are amazing. On the more general question (*In Quart.*, dist. x, qu. iv.), whether God can place any one body at the same time in two different places, a few lines may be quoted:—

* Here I find two opposite ways. One is that of blessed Thomas and his followers, Aegidius Romanus, Henricus Gandavensis and Durandus maintaining the negative. The other is that of Altisiodorus [William of Auxerre, an ancient theologian, and great favourite of Major], Alexander Hales and Conterraneus. I will state on the said question what my judgment is; for on my part I do not regard it as a problem, but I hold the affirmative part to be most certain, and so I think would anyone, *non jurans in verba magistri*.'

Major's first proof of this conclusion, viz., that St. Ambrose said mass at Milan, while at the same time he assisted at the funeral of St. Martin at Tours; or that the body of St. Baldred is preserved in three places, Aldhame, Tynningham, and Preston-kirk, is given in one of Mr. Constable's notes to the 'History.' His fifth proof is delightfully scholastic, thus:—

Fifth argument. God can put an angel or a soul in two separate places, therefore a body. Our adversaries do not deny the consequence. The antecedent is thus proved. The soul of Sortes is in his head and in his foot, but God can make his soul cease to inform the middle parts of his body, the soul remaining in the extremities, and so in two separate places.

The seventh argument is that God can transubstantiate bread into an angel; then, where there is a multitude of such transubstantiated loaves really distinct, we shall have one and the same angel in different places. A climax is reached when, a few pages further on, Sortes is placed simultaneously in Nineveh and at Babylon, and *he (Sortes) leaves at the same time both places, and meets himself on the road.*

A characteristic example of a question in casuistry is the following:—

'It follows that in the ordinary way of eating, reckoned lawful by all men, you may eat flesh-meat in Lent and yet fast well. This is shown in the eating of beans and peas, which generally contain little animals (*bestiolæ*). Invincible ignorance excuses a man from sin in eating such dead animals, nor is it requisite to depart from the usual way of eating them by breaking the beans and catching the *bestiolæ*. . . As to the beaver, the bridge-builder [*de fibro Pontifico*—is this a joke of Major's?] who always keeps his tail and hinder parts in the water, and his anterior part out of the water, you may eat the posterior without breaking your fast, but not the foreparts. For this is the way in which fish is distinguished from flesh. The fish cannot naturally live long out of water, but the hinder part of that beast, when it is in the air, must often be moistened with water, but not so the foreparts—so they say. There is, however, an objection from Physics against this beaver, for, from what has been said, it would appear that the two parts are specifically distinct, and in consequence that out of them there cannot be constituted one thing. This is not conclusive, for you have a similar case, for instance, in a twig, one part of which may be dry and the other living wood . . . and so on. (*In Quartum*, dist xv., qu. 3)

In 1518, two years after the appearance of Erasmus' epoch-making edition of the Greek Testament, Major, following in this the fashion of scholastics, published an attempt at Biblical exegesis. His *Commentary on St. Matthew* bears not a trace of the new learning. In one respect only does Major here differ from the majority of his mediæval predecessors. He is less devoted than they are, as a rule, to the mystical sense. He has not learnt how to extract the literal meaning of his author from text and context, nor does he show any interest in the studies of this kind.

The literal sense is a thing to be briefly stated in the traditional manner, and the text then becomes a convenient peg

upon which to hang questions, scholastic and casuistical, for which Peter Lombard had not provided sufficient room. Thus the words 'Whosoever will force thee one mile go with him other two,' are made plain by the comment, 'that is, if any one compels you to go from Leith to Edinburgh, you will say, "Yea, sir, even unto Corstorphine."' Upon this we are at once led to a debate on the law of retaliation. These doubts and difficulties form the kernel of the book, and the index-maker, James Godquint, has been good enough to tabulate them to the number of 303 in a volume of 102 leaves. Some are purely speculative, and are substantially repetitions of what Major had said before in his commentaries on the sentences, and some concern dogmatic or historical facts, but a large number are practical cases of conscience. Moral theology had not in Major's time taken up the position it assumed in ecclesiastical studies at a later date. Space is made for a defence of Constantine's donation, and of the right of the Pope to the temporal principedom, or of the power of councils to grant indulgences. The text lends itself easily to discussions whether a priest or religious can satisfy his obligation of saying his breviary at the same time that he fulfils the precept of hearing mass, whether the Pope would sin by breaking the fast, and what Major calls 'a beautiful question regarding Bertha,' which nowadays would be confined to a formal treatise, *De Matrimonio*. The doubts, the conclusions, the objections, and the answers are marshalled in the same way as in the theologies.

In the *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, published in 1529, the literal exposition, or rather the historical paraphrase, is a little more extended. Some of the scholastic questions on St. Matthew, of the 1518 edition, disappear, or are abridged, to make room for a number of other dubitations of a similar character. The method is perhaps a little less formal. A bitter animus now makes its appearance against the Lutherans, and some of their positions are assailed, but in controversy of this kind Major does not shine. His exposition of Christ's temptation in the desert gives a fair example of his Biblical style at its best.

'After a stomach rumbling from want of food, a handle is given to the

old fox to tempt Christ. At one time he knew much of John, the son of Zachary, but now that John openly confesses himself unworthy to loosen the latchet of the shoes of Jesus, the devil applies all the resources of his wit to discover the truth. On the other hand Christ strove to utterly overthrow his tyrant before the crafty serpent could find it out. Thus we see in the "tentative" examination for Arts in the church of St. Genevieve the candidates endeavouring with all their might to defend their theses, while the examiners are aiming with their sharpest darts to strike the target. Now the object of Christ in the present instance was not to reveal himself as the Son of God. Although all lying is blameworthy, to be silent about the truth is not seldom of advantage. Three sorts of men let their tongues blab whatever occurs. The drunkard, the fool, and boys tell you the truth. The astute tempter artfully, and with pre-meditation, prepares his sophistical device. In one way he surpassed the bachelors of the first licentiate. It is fair to suppose that this tempter was Lucifer himself, who, with his soft words and tricks, circumvented our first parents. The verbose sophist by his dilemmas, and his sorites got round the strong-minded Eve. Drawing nigh, he now says, "If thou art the son of God," etc. . . . At his first approach (as I conjecture) he saluted Christ with courtesy, pretending benevolence in order to deceive. So the cautious disputant in the *Rue du Fouarre* stuffs the head of the Moderator with flattering speeches, that he should not frown down doubtful matter. Now if the Lord turned the stones into bread he could have proved himself the Christ. If not, the devil would have concluded him to be mere man. Therefore, the horned dilemma was trusted to extort the truth from either side of the reply. Neither Zeno the Eleatic nor Protagoras the Thessalonian could have more cunningly laid the net of the syllogism. But to the conditional of the tempter, the Lord, in reply, passing by the antecedent, refuted the consequent—introducing divine scripture, and giving us the rule that not with our own strength, but by the sacred page, should we contend with the sly demon. . . . Whence we derive this law. Between any things whatsoever, differing in species, Almighty God can interpose a medium partaking of the character of both.'

In similar fashion Major runs over the remainder of the narrative, and not without further references to the manners of an angry president of the Sorbonne disputations. Then follow the questions:—

'Secondly, you may doubt, perhaps, whether the fast of Lent was instituted by divine or human law. Here know that the execrable Lutherans, with their pestilent satellites, confounding divine and human things, throw to the winds and explode every fast imposed by our forefathers. They rely upon the erroneous ground that the Church cannot establish laws obliging under pain of mortal sin, they even rashly assert that the Church

is at fault in exacting such laws. It is the opinion of others that the Lenten fast is prescribed by the divine law. To this I do not assent, as I have declared these many years past in the xvth Distinction of the ivth Book of the Sentences. . . . And lest I should seem to stand alone in this, there are Alex. Hales, Thomas Aquinas, and Richard Middleton, who maintain the same. Platina in his Annals of the Roman Pontiffs states that the fast of Lent was instituted by Pope Telesphorus. Some refer it to Simon Barjona; for Simon Barjona or Peter the first pope might lay down laws for the people in the pontifical manner.'

The story of John Baptist naturally leads to a discussion upon his relics.

'Is the head of the Baptist in many places? It is a question of fact. I do not doubt that God can put a body, whether whole or in part, *circumscriptum*, in separate places, but I do not think that he did so in this case, although some declare that the head of John is at Amimurci [?], and in the monastery of St. Silvester at Rome. The greater concourse of pilgrims is at Amiens. Crowds go from Britain to Amiens to venerate that sacred head, and many miracles are there wrought. Therefore I should rather believe the head to be there than elsewhere.'

He proceeds to suggest the way in which the relics were obtained, in the time of the Emperor Julian, and how it came about that various bones are preserved in the church of St. Laurence at Genoa, and the index finger in the basilica at Florence. But he continues:—

'It will not be out of place to recall to mind the miracle which occurred in reference to his relics near Babylonia of Egypt, where there is a monastery dedicated to the Baptist, and where his relics are contained in a little ark. There was a long established custom observed there, on the feast of the Saint's Nativity, by both Christians and Saracens, who assembled together in order to despatch the chest in a boat to another monastery sacred to St. John. They discharge the chest into the river Nile against the stream, and the box floats with such speed as to outstrip the fleetest horse. Every year numbers of people witness this miracle. Now between the two monasteries of St. John there is a distance of ten miles. The candid reader will pardon me if I sometimes digress from the explanation of the text, especially when other matters not out of harmony with the text, and worthy of note, are introduced. For the censure of the critics I don't care a straw. It is their nature to secretly snap their jaws at everyone.'

The ethics of homicide are treated at some length.

'Murder is a greater crime than adultery, but adultery with a queen is a greater crime than the murder of some vagabond. Every homicide is not

a sin, for to preserve chastity any one may kill the aggressor. It is impossible to convict of sin a queen or princess who cuts the throat of a cook or some one of that sort who makes an attempt on her virtue, if there is no other way of escape. . . . It is not lawful for a private person to slay an usurper who has forcibly overcome opposition and is settled in the kingdom. . . . I think such a one should not be slain by a private person. It is for the chiefs of the State to consider the matter. Eglon was a public enemy of Israel and a foreigner who disturbed Israel and Aioth [Ehud], was a public person at the head of the State, but even if he had been a private person it would have been lawful for him to remove Eglon.'

Commenting on Matthew xxvii. 9, Major touches on an ancient suggestion, that the evangelist here wrote Jeremias for Zackery, by some 'secret counsel,' in order to show that what was said by one prophet was said by all or by any.

'This secret counsel I do not receive. Nor is the Gloss, proposing the word *per prophetam* and omitting the name of Jeremias satisfactory, nor the suggestion that in ancient copies it was so written, nor that by an hallucination of the writer the one name was written for the other. For to say there was a lapse of memory on the part of the evangelist is sheer insanity. Such follies with regard to the evangelist I cannot read with patience. Since the received version (*receptissimus usus*) of the church has the name of Jeremias, this must stand. Holy Church directed by the Holy Spirit does not halt. Moreover, I blow to the winds all such suggestions, for if Zacharias was also called Jeremias the difficulty vanishes.'

In like manner Major lets us know his opinion of the Vulgate on the question whether we should read *si* or *sic* in John xxi. 22.

'The Greeks read *si*. They say it is the easier reading, and that in the New Testament we should go to the Greek fountain, that *sic* should be deleted as an error, so Laurentius Valla and others with more acerbity. But our codices have *sic* without controversy. If you alter or take away one word, you may alter a second or a third and thus take away from our bibles all their strength and solidity. Nor should we give so much credit to the Greeks, who often differ among themselves, in what concerns the most received version of the Latin church now in use for more than a thousand years.'

On the Immaculate Conception Major always speaks with warmth. In addition to the common arguments in favour of this doctrine, he argues, as has been already said, that the Council of Basle defined it with an explicit decree.

'Opponents cavil against this council which they say produced a *basilisk*, but this will not do, for though there were disputes between Eugenius and Felix the whole church received this decree *nemine contradicente*. Our faculty of theologians, also, at Paris, following in the steps of the council, admits no bachelor of theology until by oath he has assented to this doctrine. Sixtus V. sanctioned it. It is rash to maintain the opposite. It is madness. Good God! (he exclaims,) how many preachers of the contrary opinion in my time have collapsed and been ejected from the pulpit by wise men and the populace. In no pulpit should such men be heard, but they should be expelled *confusibiliter*. Know, says Aristotle, that those who refuse to venerate the gods and honour their parents are not to be convinced by arguments but beaten with stripes. In truth, the man does not venerate Christ who asserts that the flesh, which he assumed was at any time obnoxious to sin.'

In the discussion of this question in the *In Tertium* (Dist. ii., qu. 4.), Major confirms his argument 'by miracles which no one but a fool will deny.' One of these is that 'a preacher at Cracow, who declared that the mother of God was conceived in original sin, dropped dead, as a sheet of the times (*fasciculus temporum*) reports, before his sermon was finished.'

The discipline of the Roman Church in refusing to the laity communion under both kinds is rigidly defended without hesitation or reserve.

'If the Bohemians say that they are obliged by the divine law to the double participation conceded to them, they maintain damnable heresy. . . . John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, the criminal authors of heresy, were burnt at Constance for their rash ventures. If the present poison, more mature than that of the Bohemians, had been sharply repressed the pernicious dogma would not have spread so far.'

Major closes his commentary on the Gospel of Mark with six questions, one of which is, Whether Mary was assumed, body as well as soul, into heaven? He of course replies in the affirmative.

'It is not a matter which should be brought into controversy. Mary died, and at her death there were present the Apostles, gathered together from all parts into which they had been dispersed. So says Dionysius. . . . It is not to be thought of that the Lord would suffer his mother's body to lie in the earth unknown and without due veneration. Secondly, it is piously believed that the body of John the Evangelist was assumed into heaven, therefore without a doubt the same should be conceded regarding

the body of the "deipara." . . This was the opinion held by Augustine in a certain sermon, and many men of weight follow him. You will say, perhaps, that this is a pious belief (*de pietate fidei*). If you mean by a pious belief one that it is lawful to deny with impunity, this is not enough. For if anyone in preaching were to call in doubt the bodily assumption, he would be compelled to sing his palinodia and to retract. I am not ignorant that Thomas Aquinas says in the 43rd distinction of the IVth Book of Sentences that it is merely a pious belief, or that Richard Middleton and many others subscribe to his opinion, or that Jerome is, as it were, in doubt about it. . . . But you may divide pious beliefs into two kinds. Opinions of the one kind it is not sinful to call in doubt although the opposite is better calculated to nourish piety. . . . A pious belief of the other kind is an irrefragable truth although it is not contained in, or deducible from the Bible. The case proposed is a belief of this last kind.

These specimens, which may be multiplied indefinitely, should be sufficient to show, once for all, how very far Major stood from the position taken up by any of the liberal or minimising parties within the church. Neither his language nor his ideas were those of the humanists. He showed no leanings towards the doctrinal and ritual reforms afterwards suggested or developed by Bishop Nausea, Hermann von Wied, Gropper, and others in Germany, or by the bishops of Henry VIII. in England. He seemed, on the other hand, blind to the lessons which Luther was teaching to the best minds on the Catholic side. See for example, by way of the sharpest contrast, the impression made by the Protestant Reformation on a far greater man than Major, the Dominican, Thomas de Vio, Cardinal Cajetan. He is best known as the scholastic commentator on St. Thomas Aquinas, and the haughty legate who was sent by Leo X. to browbeat Luther. He was, or rather he became an earnest and humble student of Scripture, learning Hebrew in his old age in order to make his own translation. 'I intend,' he wrote, in the preface to his Commentary on the Pentateuch, 'to expound the text according to the Hebrew verity, for the Hebrew and not the Greek or Latin interpretation is authoritative, which we are compelled to embrace, and which all the faithful do embrace.' His interpretation of both Old and New Testaments is surprisingly free. He doubts the authenticity of the Vulgate readings in important passages. He rejects without scruple the received explanations of many

texts commonly adduced to prove the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of penance and extreme unction, and denies that the discourse of Christ in John vi. has any reference to the Eucharist. On Justification he inclines, like Pole, Contarini, and others, to Lutheran ideas, and he is in favour of the use of the vernacular in church services. He was accused of heresy by his brother Dominican, Catharinus, and, at a later date, defended from the charge by the more large-minded Benedict XIV. He died in 1534, many years before the meeting of the Council of Trent, and represents the fluctuating attitude assumed by many scholars and thinkers of real eminence before the Tridentine settlement. Major never thus wavered. As a theologian he seems to belong rather to the fifteenth century than to the stirring years of the sixteenth in which his lot was cast.

Major was not a bishop or a missionary preacher; he possessed no ecclesiastical jurisdiction or rank. It was therefore hardly in his power, even if he had the desire, to initiate, or co-operate in, practical reforms in any sphere except that of ecclesiastical education. Here he at least held a high and influential position, and his name was something to conjure with. Mr. Mackay calls attention to the interesting fact which has hitherto escaped the notice of Major's biographers that he was invited, nay pressed with solid inducements, by Wolsey to accept a chair of theology in the Cardinal's newly-founded college at Oxford. Mr. Mackay would have us infer from this that Major was regarded by his contemporaries as at least standing very near to the parting of the ways between the old and the new academic methods. We perhaps scarcely know enough of Wolsey's mind on the matter to draw so definite a conclusion. The English statesman would at least have regarded with favour an eminent Scot who was an avowed advocate of the union of the two kingdoms. Major, however, declined the offer, and preferred to return to Paris and there carry out his literary projects. He may have had other reasons for this besides those which he gives in the epistle dedicating his *Ethics* to Wolsey. He may have felt unequal to throwing himself into a new movement. In any case the

view entertained of Major as an educational reformer by his contemporaries and successors on the Catholic side deserves consideration.

The judgment of the progressive party within the Church, of the men who drew their inspiration from the Council of Trent and aimed at the revival and purification of theological studies, is on this point unmistakable. We may take first the testimony of the erudite Spanish scholar, John Maldonatus, of the Society of Jesus. Maldonatus was born about the time that Major left Paris, he studied under the pioneers of the new Catholicism at Salamanca, and when the Jesuits at length (in 1563) succeeded in establishing a college at the University of Paris, he was appointed by the Society to their Chair of philosophy. He too, like Major, became a lecturer on the Sentences, but he is best known for his commentary on the Gospels, which, whatever its defects, remains to this day the standard work of its kind, unsurpassed, nay unequalled in ability and lucidity, within the Roman Church. Maldonatus, before opening his classes, delivered an inaugural discourse, in which he passes under review the recent history of theological studies at Paris.*

'To the epoch of Peter Lombard,' he says, 'succeeded an age to which we hardly know whether to assign praise or blame. It is to be felicitated inasmuch as it was troubled with few heresies, but, on the other hand, it is a matter of lament that this very tranquility was the cause of the decadence and almost of the ruin of good letters. Thanks to the piety of the most Christian kings who had a high esteem for theologians, men of this profession multiplied greatly at the University of Paris. The most of them were men of knowledge and talent, but seeing that they had no war to sustain against heretics, they laid down their arms, that is to say, they neglected the sacred books, the holy fathers and the ancient manner of teaching theology. . . . They concentrated their thoughts on the philosophy of Aristotle, and employed their lives and faculties in inventing, proposing and resolving an infinity of intricate questions to exhibit the subtlety of their minds. The schools resounded with Suppositions, Appellations, Expouibilia, Contradictoria, Insolubilia, Syllogisms, and disputes without end, puerile cries and noisy arguments which, when there

* Printed for the first time by J. M. Prat, S.J., in his *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris au xvi^e siècle* (1856).

came the day of serious battle with the enemy, were more calculated to inflict injury on, than to secure victory for, the truth. This is just what happened when in the first years of this century heresy raised on a sudden the standard of revolt. It took us by surprise, disarmed and ill-prepared as we were for the attack. . . . Our enemies reached such a point of audacity that even their women did not scruple to say that they knew the scriptures better than the most learned of our theologians.'

Few men of his age had a better right than Maldonatus to so speak. If he mentions no names it is plain enough whose methods are here censured as out of date, and whose weapons are condemned as rusty, unprofitable or dangerous. Melchior Cano, the famous Dominican, author of the *De locis theologicis*, and master of Maldonatus, uses almost identical language, though with less pointed reference to Paris. But the testimony of a third Spanish scholar, Louis de Carvajal (quoted at length by Prat) is perhaps still more to the point. Carvajal was an actual contemporary of Major at Paris, and afterwards entered the order of St. Francis of the Strict Observance. He was a man of learning and piety, had distinguished himself by a reply to the attack of Erasmus upon the religious orders, and assisted at the Council of Trent. In his treatise '*De Restituta Theologia: liber, in quo theologia repurgatur a sophistica et barbarie*,' etc. (Coloniz, 1545), he uses language stronger than that of the Jesuit regarding his old university, and he is less reticent of names. He complains bitterly of the injury done to all the sciences, to Medicine, Civil or Canon Law, as well as to Theology, by the 'tyranny of barbarism.' 'And what of Dialectics?' he asks. 'O most ignorant and garrulous sophists—for my discourse is addressed to you, I say, the Laxi, the Enzinæ, the Dullaerts, the Pardi, Spinosæ, Coronelli, Quadripertiti, and the remaining high priests of this quality!'—and he proceeds to inveigh against the men who had invaded the sacred schools of Christendom with a sophistry that had always been a laughing stock to the ancients, and he rings the changes on those 'monstrosities'—Suppositions, Obligations, Exponibilia, Insolubilia, and the rest—which had 'well-nigh suffocated the youthful mind, and made literature impossible.' Carvajal's list of names is very significant. Gaspar Lax, who wrote on logic, was a favourite

pupil of Major. Antony Coronel was devoted to him, and assisted in the editing of some of his works. John Dullaert of Ghent, who wrote commentaries on the Categories, was another of the Scotsman's disciples. The *Medulla dialectices* of Jerome Pardus was edited by Major himself. Ferdinand de Enzinas, professor of logic at Paris (circ. 1520), though not named in Mr. Constable's volume, was another writer of the same school. By the *Quadripertiti* Carvajal no doubt indicates Major's countryman and scholar, Robert Caubraith. Thus does the advanced guard of the counter-reformation—Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit alike—justify the satires of Melancthon, Buchanan, and Rabelais, and hold up the 'Prince of Paris divines' and his school to censure or ridicule, not, be it observed, for any shade of liberalism, but for obscurantism, 'barbaries,' and obstruction.

Their criticism is severe and somewhat coloured by rhetoric, but, from the Roman Catholic point of view, it is substantially sound. Indeed, Major himself seems in some measure to be conscious of his own shortcomings as a teacher in the face of the new conditions. The last words perhaps which he penned—the preface addressed, in September, 1530, to his notorious namesake, John Major of Eck, the clever, prompt, indefatigable antagonist of Luther—are written in the tone of an apology:—

'It is nearly twenty years (he writes) since I published on the First Book of the Sentences a number of little questions in which I discussed or refuted to the best of my ability several positions regarding the liberal arts, *de intensione formarum*, and similar matters, for such was the manner of writing adopted by theologians. Nevertheless, though I have passed the greater part of my life in explaining Aristotle, this custom, I avow, displeased me, inasmuch as I found it little to the taste and pleasure of my auditors.'

Major had written in like manner, two years before, to Noel Beda, that in combining with the sacred science questions of mere physics and metaphysics, he had but followed in the footsteps of the divines of the past two centuries, '*tanquam invitus.*' In this plea of unwillingness he may have somewhat deceived

himself; he at least admirably concealed in his writings any feeling of constraint. He continues to Dr. Eck:—

‘Then there arose, about a dozen years since (if I remember right), this new and detestable calamity of the Catholic Church, the execrable heresy of Luther and of those who, from him, have learnt to blaspheme Heaven. In order to confute them the students of theology at Paris began to neglect the definitions of the sentences, and to betake themselves to the study of Scripture, so that our academy of Sorbonne abandoned the “Great Ordinaries,” as we call them, to deal with easier topics. . . . But the faculty began to fear lest the minds of the scholars should grow torpid, and should degenerate into crass ignorance. They gave orders, therefore, that the bachelors should sustain, as before, in their public theses the more scholastic and subtle questions according to the older methods, and permitted them only to take up a single thesis of a more practical and simple character. *Wherefore I accommodated myself to the style of the times.*’

The truth is that the theological faculty, after a moment’s hesitation, hastened to arrest any incipient tendencies to educational reform. ‘John Major,’ writes Père Prat, summing up the situation in a single sentence, ‘obedient to this order, *abstained from any attempt at reform*, and thus contributed to retard a movement *which by his example he should have promoted.*’

Major’s *Exponibilia*, *Insolubilia*, *Summulæ*, and *Termini*, his Commentaries on Peter Lombard and the Gospels were soon forgotten. There was danger of his interesting and instructive personality passing with them into oblivion. This should not be. It will not be to the honour of the guardians of Scottish literature if its most precious relic of pure, unadulterated, mediævalism be either ignored or misunderstood. The *History of Greater Britain*, with its accompanying record of the author’s life and work, should, at least, revive the memory, if not promote the study, of a national worthy whose mental figure and equipments form a notable landmark in the history of European thought.

T. G. LAW.

ART. VI.—HYMNOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN
CHURCH.

A Dictionary of Hymnology, setting forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations, with Special Reference to those contained in the Hymn Books of English-speaking countries, and now in common use; together with Biographical and Critical Notices of their Authors and Translators, and Historical Articles on National and Denominational Hymnody, Breviaries, Missals, Primers, Psalters, Sequences, etc., etc. Edited by JOHN JULIAN, M.A., Vicar of Wincobank, Sheffield. London: John Murray, 1892.

MR. Julian's eagerly expected *Dictionary of Hymnology* proves to be a monumental work. He has laboured upon it with a painstaking research and an unwearying enthusiasm which are beyond praise for more than twenty years. During its preparation two hundred languages and dialects have been ransacked, ten thousand MSS. have been studied, whilst all the chief libraries of Europe have been carefully laid under contribution. Thirty thousand hymns have been annotated, five thousand authors and translators have found more or less extended notice in the columns of this vast cyclopædia. The amount of detailed attention required may be seen from the fact that seventeen changes have been recorded and accounted for in the first four lines of 'Jesus, lover of my soul.' The accepted history of some of our most popular hymns has proved to be erroneous for 'a mass of information, hitherto inaccessible to the student of Hymnology, has been collected from many private sources.' Mr. Julian has had upwards of a thousand correspondents in all parts of the world, and has spent more than £300 on postage. In one case a year and a half passed before he received an answer to his enquiries; delays of six and nine months were frequent. Other details show even more clearly the vastness of this work as a literary undertaking. It contains three million words and figures, more than two million of which have been written by the editor himself either

originally or in revision. 14,027,000 types have been set up weighing eight tons; every line has been revised in proof five to ten times. If the matter in this dictionary had been printed in the same type as the Speaker's Commentary, it would have exceeded in size the six volumes of that work devoted to the Old Testament. By using sixteen different kinds of type, some of them very small, it has, however, been possible to pack into 1616 medium octavo pages, all the wealth of matter which Mr. Julian has been gathering together for so many years. The Dictionary is somewhat cumbrous, but for a volume of such size it is comparatively easy to handle. The exhaustive cross reference index enables any one who uses it to find what he wants in a moment. Everything has indeed been done to make the Dictionary of the utmost possible service to students, and done, we must add, with eminently satisfactory results.

The articles on National and Denominational Hymnody are rightly described by the editor as a new and valuable feature in this great work. The arrangement of subjects usual in a dictionary makes it difficult to gain a connected view of the history of hymnology in each age and nation, but any one who studies the articles on Psalters and Hymnody will gradually find himself in a position to trace the various steps by which the Christian Church has become possessed of not less than 400,000 hymns in more than 200 different languages and dialects. Lord Byron's tribute to the first great leader of church music gains new meaning as we thus trace his influence in succeeding ages. 'David's lyre grew mightier than his throne,' conveys after all but a faint idea of the ever-growing influence of that minstrel king who 'opened a new door in the side of sacred literature—a Bible within a Bible.' The Psalms were our Lord's hymn book, from which He and His disciples gathered comfort, when, 'having hymned,' they went forth to the Mount of Olives. St. Ambrose bears witness to the charm of the Psalter in the fourth century, when he says that if other parts of the Scripture were read in church you could scarce hear anything, but when the Psalter was read all were silent. St. Augustine found in 'those faithful songs and sounds of devotion, which exclude all swelling of spirit,' a

voice to express his most intense and varied feeling in the crisis of his life at Milan. 'What utterances would I send up unto Thee in those Psalms, and how was I inflamed towards Thee by them, and burned to rehearse them, if it were possible, throughout the whole world, against the pride of the human race.' (*Confessions*, ix. 4 § 87). The Psalms early found their place in English Church life. When the watchman who had been posted on the tower of Lindisfarne saw the signal of Cuthbert's death for which he had been waiting, and hurried with the news into the church, the brethren of Holy Island were singing the words: 'Thou hast cast us out and scattered us abroad; Thou hast also been displeased; Thou hast shown Thy people heavy things; Thou hast given us a drink of deadly wine.'

It is important to note such facts, for in his article on Greek Hymnody, Mr. Leigh Bennett clearly points out that the distinctively Christian hymn has its root in the poetry and worship of the Old Testament, whose songs and rhythmical passages passed directly into the services of the Greek Church. The Alleluia was early incorporated with Christian song. St. Jerome notes how the Christian ploughman shouted it at his work. Sailors encouraged one another by a loud alleluia as they plied the oar. St. Germanus of Auxerre and his soldiers used the word as their battle cry when they won the Alleluia victory over the Picts and Scots in 429. It became the recognised Easter morning salutation, and soon gained a fixed position in the liturgies of the day, especially on the great festivals. The Ter Sanctus, derived from the hymn in Isaiah vi. 3, had also been used in Jewish ritual. 'The Hosanna which so constantly accompanies it in early liturgies was partly the echo of the Triumphal Entry, but partly also of the older refrain used at the Feast of Tabernacles.' Antiphonal singing, which Ignatius introduced among the Greeks at Antioch, may be traced to the choir of the old Jewish temple. The refrains and short ejaculations of praise which are a marked feature of Greek hymns are also a legacy from the Jewish to the Christian Church.

The great hymns of the Nativity, which we owe to St.

Luke's research, were probably used as canticles at a very early period. They may fairly be described as the first and grandest songs of the Christian Church. The rhythmic fragments in the Epistles may throw some light on the hymns which St. Paul bids the churches at Ephesus and Colossae use. 'Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light,' perhaps bears the evidence of such use. Two of the 'faithful sayings' of the Pastoral Epistles and the grand fragment (1 Timothy, iii. 16,) 'on our Lord's Incarnation and triumph,' betray a similar origin. Clement of Alexandria's, 'Bridle of Steeds untamed,' is the oldest of all Christian hymns. Its phraseology is adapted to the perfect Gnostic of the second century, but 'there is nothing in its bright versicles—full of childlike trust in Christ, as the Shepherd, the Fisher of Souls, the Everlasting Word, the Eternal Light—that is not to be found in the pages of Holy Writ.' The greatest early hymnist, Gregory Nazianzen, who wrote in classic metres, has been compared to our own Ken. Certain passages in his troubled history furnish a striking parallel to the life of our devout and high-souled bishop. Gregory's morning and evening hymns are far inferior to Ken's, but in all his other productions the Greek hymn-writer distinctly bears the palm.

The compositions of Synesius lie on the borderland between Christianity and Neo-Platonism, but they contain many fine specimens of speculative adoration of the Triune Godhead, such as the Platonic philosophy inspired. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in 629, was the author of long poems on the chief events of New Testament history. That on the 'Holy Places' has special interest from the insight it gives into the appearance of Jerusalem and its sacred sites in the seventh century. Basil speaks of the 'Thanksgiving at Lamp-lighting,' which was already old in the latter half of the fourth century. The Greek form of the 'Gloria in Excelsis' is of early date, and the *Te Deum* seems to have had a Greek origin. These facts form landmarks in the history of early hymnody in the East.

The younger Pliny tells us in his famous letter to Trajan

that the Christians were accustomed to meet before day, and sing a hymn to Christ as God, 'by turns, one after another.' There was, however, a certain reserve as to their general introduction into the services of the Church. Antioch indeed adopted this form of praise so early as 269, but even in the fourth and fifth centuries the more conservative monastics had scruples as to the use of anything save the Psalms. The Council of Braga in Spain, which met in 561, actually forbade the use of hymns. They seem indeed to have made their reputation out of doors among the people, and then to have gradually established their right to a place within the Church. Hymns have in all ages been a favourite means of propaganda. The early heretics were quick to perceive their efficacy as a vehicle for spreading their own opinions. The Church was not slow to learn the same lesson. The Gnostic hymns of his day led Ephrem the Syrian to adopt similar metres and rhythms. His metrical homilies, sung in the religious services, were longer than hymns and more distinctly didactic in character, but they rendered great service to the churches of Syria. The Arians of Alexandria and Constantinople taught their songs to millers, sailors and merchants. Athanasius and Chrysostom thus learned what an important part hymns might play in the service of orthodoxy, and used the weapon with great success.

Greek hymnology reached its most splendid development at the close of the eighth century. St. Andrew of Crete, whose Great Canon, 2500 strophes in length, is sung entire on the Thursday in Mid-Lent 'cum labore multo et pulmonum fatigatione' is one of the great hymnists of the time. The strophes of his canon 'have not the point of those of John of Damascus, and make no use of refrains. The aim of it is penitential; a spirit of true penitence breathes through it, it has many beautiful passages, and is rich in allusions to the personages of the Bible, either as warnings or examples to the penitent, but its excellences are marred by repetition and prolixity.' The Laura of St. Sabas, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem became the centre of a school of hymn-writers, of whom Cosmas and John of Damascus hold foremost rank among the Greek

ecclesiastical poets. The Canon on the Ascension of John of Damascus is full of triumph, and gladness, and dramatic realisation. His Easter Canon is the grandest effort of sacred poetry in the Greek Church. A spirit of rapt contemplation is the chief characteristic of Eastern hymnody. Where an English hymn opens up the human blessings, and seeks to bring home the great truths of religion to heart and conscience, the Greek hymnist is absorbed with the doctrine itself. The human aspect is either made secondary or entirely overlooked. The contrast between the genius of the Greek and the Latin race is strikingly evident in the hymnology of the two churches, as indeed in the whole course of their history. One is speculative, the other practical. The Eastern hymns on the Divine Perfections and the Incarnation differ widely from 'our self-regarding mode of praise.' This habit of thought has, however, its disadvantages. By its discouragement of the development of human emotion, aspiration, and benefit, the range of subjects and reflection is narrowed, and in the later poets the repetition of the same types, epithets, and metaphors, issues in sameness, conventional diction, and fossil thought. It is impossible to avoid the conviction that the great bulk of Greek hymns would have had a richer value if inspiration had been sought in the deep spiritual analysis of St. Paul, or the interpretation of the changing moods of the soul, which are of such preciousness in the Psalms.

We have dwelt in some detail on Greek hymnody because the East first taught the value of hymnology to the Latin Church. Hymns made their way with Christianity as it spread over the Roman Empire. Jerome indeed complains in the preface to his *Commentary on the Galatians* that hymns were unacceptable in Northern Gaul, but that region was a striking exception to the rule. The hymns were at first sung in the original Greek, for Latin had not yet come into common use. It is somewhat surprising to find that no name can be associated with any Latin hymn till we arrive at the times of St. Hilary and Pope Damasus. Ambrose of Milan is the founder of Latin hymnody. It was he who taught the whole congregation to take its share in singing the psalms and hymns

which, up to that time, had been recited by individuals singly or by clerks. During his memorable struggle with the Arian Empress, Justina, the Archbishop and his faithful people enlivened their long vigils with hymns of praise and trust. St. Augustine adds that this singing was imitated 'by many, yea, by almost all of Thy congregations throughout the rest of the world.' The effect which the Ambrosian hymnody produced on St. Augustine finds memorable expression in the Confessions. 'How greatly did I weep in Thy hymns and canticles, deeply moved by the voices of Thy sweet-speaking Church. The voices flowed into mine ears, and the truth was poured forth into my heart, whence the agitation of my piety overflowed, and my tears ran over, and blessed was I therein.' A learned prefect of the Ambrosian Library at Milan has paid a well-deserved tribute to the style of the great prelate's hymns—clear, sweet, and yet vigorous, grand, and noble. Closeness of thought is combined with singular brevity of expression. Archbishop Trench shows how suitably the faith, which was in actual conflict with the powers of the world, found utterance in such hymns as these, 'wherein is no softness, perhaps little tenderness, but a rock-like firmness, the old Roman stoicism transmuted and glorified into that nobler Christian courage which encountered, and at length overcame, the world.'

Benedict expressly adopted the hymns of Ambrose and his successors in his 'Order of Worship.' The vast community which owned the rule of himself and his successors spread rapidly over Europe. Its customs and usages of worship were followed in England as well as over the north of Europe 'and, with local variations, in the remainder of Western Christendom.' The glorious strains of the hymn 'Exultet jam angelica turba coelorum,' said to have been composed by Augustine when a deacon, were sung by the deacon at the Benediction of the Paschal Candle. The name of Benedict must therefore be linked with that of Ambrose in the history of Latin hymnody. Prudentius of Spain wrote some noble hymns which found their way into general use. Before the eleventh and twelfth centuries closed the place of hymns in public

services had been fixed and settled. They found their way into the Missals, Breviaries, and other offices of that time. Each church also added local hymns in honour of its own founders and patrons. With a few striking exceptions the clergy and the monks had become the chief poets of the age. Their verses 'were no longer confined to the direct worship and praise of the Creator, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and of the Apostles, and certain principal saints, and appropriated to the various solemnities of the Church relating to them, such as were those of Ambrose, Gregory, Prudentius, Fortunatus, and their successors. They became amplified and refined into eulogies, descriptions of, and meditations upon, the Passion and Wounds of Christ, on His Sacred Countenance, on His Cross, on His Sweet Name, on the Vanity of Life, on the Joys of Paradise, on the Terrors of Judgment; into penitential exercises, of the Holy Sacrament, of the lives and sufferings of numerous Saints—most especially into praises of the Blessed Virgin, on her dignity, on her Joys and Dolours.'

When Jumièges was destroyed by the Normans in 851, some of its monks took refuge at St. Gall, bringing their Gregorian Antiphonary with them. The anthem preceding the Gospel, which was known as the Gradual, ended on Festal days 'with a long Alleluia, which was a musical jubilation on a certain number of notes, called Neumes, without words, on the final A; also called the Sequentia, as following thereon.' These Neumes owed their origin to two chanters sent by Pope Adrian to Charlemagne. One opened a school at Metz, the other became musical preceptor in the monastery of St. Gall, where he was detained by illness. The Neumes were exceedingly difficult to remember. A young monk called Notker was therefore delighted to find that in the Jumièges music words had been attached corresponding to the number of the Neumes. This made it comparatively easy to recall the cadences. He set himself to contrive words for other musical Sequences sung at the different festivals of the year. Every note now had a corresponding word attached. These unrhymed Sequences became known as Notkerian Proses.

Gradually they were rhymed, and increased in beauty and popularity. Then an entirely novel and original system both of versification and music, derived from popular airs, was introduced by the Church musicians in the north of France. The Sequences composed by Adam of St. Victor are singularly fine and impressive. His musical and flowing verses are saturated with Scriptural truth and imagery. The *Dies Irae*, almost the solitary Sequence which Italy has produced, and the *Stabat Mater dolorosa* are among the most precious treasures thus bequeathed to Christendom. Its latest gems were due to Thomas Aquinas, but at the beginning of the fourteenth century the glory had departed from Latin hymnology.

King Alfred tells us that when Aldhelm saw how the people who had flocked to attend Mass at Malmesbury, trooped away from the church before the sermon, he took his stand, disguised as a gleeman, on a bridge which they must cross, and gathered them round him to hear his songs, with which he generally managed to weave a little instruction. The anecdote suggests that sacred songs formed part of the gleeman's repertory. The hymn which Cœdman composed whilst sleeping in the stable is the earliest piece of Saxon poetry extant. St. Cuthbert also refers to a hymn sung by Bede in his last illness. No collection of mediæval English hymns has yet been made. If some one would undertake this task, considerable light might be thrown on the devotions of the laity in olden times. But if we know little of English hymnody in these early days, Latin hymns were widely used in our island down to the time of the Reformation. The English Reformers unhappily refused them a place in the book of Common Prayer, even though they formed an integral part of the offices on which that book was based. Luther, on the other hand, who had learned to love these hymns in the monastery, freely used them after he broke with Rome. Two renderings of 'Veni Creator' are the only traces of Latin hymnody in the Book of Common Prayer. But if such Latin hymns were dying out 'the fashion of Psalm-singing was mastering the people.' It quickly became an integral part of the national life. On the accession of Elizabeth, the enthusiasm aroused by the Psalter was almost as great as that

with which Clement Marot's version had been greeted in France; or at the field-preaching in the Netherlands. Sometimes six thousand voices were thus raised in praise at St. Paul's Cross after the sermons of the bishops. Psalms were introduced at St. Antholin's, and quickly spread to other London churches. Certain men and women from London are said to have disturbed the six o'clock matins in Exeter Cathedral by singing psalms. They were prohibited by the Dean and Chapter, but were supported by the Queen's Visitors, Jewel, and other influential men, who sharply reproved the authorities. The Dean and Chapter appealed to Archbishop Parker, but he bade them 'permit and suffer' congregations to 'sing or say the godly Prayers set forth and permitted in this Church of England.' This use of godly prayers as equivalent to psalms is interesting. In June, 1559, permission to sing hymns in public worship was granted by a royal injunction. 'For the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or end of Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God in the best melody and music that may be devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.'

Thomas Sternhold, the father of English metrical Psalmody, died ten years before this injunction was issued. He was groom of the robes to Henry VIII., who bequeathed him a legacy of a hundred marks. His psalms were originally composed for his own 'Godly solace,' and sung by him to his organ. His young master, Edward VI., chanced to overhear them, and invited Sternhold to repeat them in his presence. The first edition of nineteen Psalms was dedicated to the King. Wood says that Sternhold had musical notes set to the Psalms, and hoped that the courtiers would sing them instead of their amorous and obscene songs. His Psalms are godly ballads in the older form of Common Measure, known as the Chevy Chase Measure, with only two rhymes. It was not till 1562 that the complete Psalter was published by John Daye. It was some years later before it assumed its final shape. Sternhold himself is responsible for forty versions. John Hopkins, who seelias

to have been a Gloucestershire clergyman and schoolmaster, wrote sixty which are also in common metre but with four rhymes to a stanza. William Whittingham was the scholar of the company. He had fled from the Marian persecution to Geneva, where he married Calvin's sister and succeeded Knox in the pastorate of the exiled English congregation. He had a prominent share in the preparation of the Genevan Bible. On his return to England he was made Dean of Durham. During his tenure of office he protested against the wearing of habits and is said to have destroyed the image of Cuthbert, but he has at least the merit of introducing metrical Canticles into the Cathedral services. The Old Version has twelve psalms of Whittingham's. 'Few books have had so long a career of influence.' Psalm-singing soon came to be regarded as the most divine part of public worship. When a psalm was read the heads of the worshippers were covered, but all men sat bare-headed when the psalm was sung. The New Version by Tate and Brady, published in 1696, did not easily displace the Old. Bishop Beveridge in 1710 made a vigorous onslaught on it as 'fine and modish,' 'flourished with wit and fancy,' 'gay and fashionable.' He says one vestry had cast it out after it was introduced by the clergyman. Beveridge strenuously defends the Old Version as a venerable monument of the Reformation.

In Scotland, where services had been established in the vernacular after the breach with Rome, the metrical Psalm was preferred to the chanted prose Psalm, both because it was more convenient for popular use and was deemed to be nearer to the Hebrew structure. The Psalter has indeed had 'a mighty influence upon the Scottish mind and heart.' So late as 1749 metrical psalmody was the only part of the service in which Scotch congregations joined. The singing of hymns, other than the Paraphrases of 1741-81, did not become at all general among the United Presbyterians till after 1852. The Established Church was eighteen years later, and the Free Church three years later still. Calvin had adopted Marot's version of the Psalms, and when Marot himself fled to Geneva the Reformer induced him to revise his earlier versions and

add new ones. After his death Beza continued the work. In the completed Psalter published in 1562, forty-nine versions are by Marot, the rest by Beza. French tunes and French metres found their way from this collection into the Scotch Psalter. Sternhold's psalms were also known at Geneva and thence exerted some influence on Scotland. The 'Dundie Psalmes,' or 'Gude and Godlie Ballates,' were the first version used in Scotland. The book was probably issued in a rudimentary form as early as 1568. The earliest perfect edition we possess, that of 1578, is a poetical miscellany. It contains sixteen 'spirituall Sangis,' eleven from the German; one from the Latin; twenty 'Ballatis of the Scripture,' one of which is from the German. Its last section is entitled 'Psalmes of David with uther new pleasand Ballatis Translatit out of Enchiridion Psalmorum, to be sung.' It contains twenty-two psalm versions, thirteen of them being from the German; three hymns from the German, one from the Latin; seven adaptations from secular ballads, and thirty-six other items. 'Some of the pieces, though rude, have a wonderful pathos, and even beauty. Reading the anti-papal satires, one does not wonder at the rage they excited among the Roman ecclesiastics.'

In 1564 appeared the complete Scotch Psalter, prepared by order of the General Assembly. 39 of the versions were by Sternhold, 37 by Hopkins, 16 by Whittingham, 25 by Kethe. The Assembly ordained that every minister, reader, and exhorter should have and use a copy. Charles I. sought to enforce the use of another version, which was largely the work of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling. The opposition aroused led Alexander largely to rewrite his version. It was then bound up with Laud's luckless Service Book of 1637, which was indignantly rejected by all Scotland. The General Assembly was restored and Alexander's monopoly came to an untimely end. When the Westminster Assembly met, in 1643, Parliament instructed it to prepare a Psalter for use in both kingdoms. This was done with much care. But the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was not satisfied with the result. It therefore appointed four persons to make further revision. The book was published in 1650, and is to this day

the one Psalter used by Presbyterian Scotland. Even though sometimes rude in style, its faithfulness, vigour and terseness cannot be denied. It is woven into the very fibre of the national religion.

We have seen how the popularity of psalm-singing entirely destroyed the influence of Latin hymnody in England. During the Reformation epoch we catch a few echoes of Luther's muse. With the exception of two pieces, nearly the whole of Coverdale's 'Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songs' is a more or less close rendering from the German. It was a misfortune that Coverdale's example was not followed, but Calvin's influence was dominant and he was not prepared to admit anything into public worship save paraphrases of Scripture, and 'even of Scripture little outside the Psalms, became the stern rule of our hymnody for the next century and a half.'

The metrical paraphrases, which were partly liturgical, but mainly drawn from Scripture, gradually prepared the way for hymns. 'The real cradle of English hymns is the English Bible.' That volume seemed to the Reformers the divinely-given wellspring of praise. Much of it actually consisted of songs of praise, and in those days of heated theological debate rigid adherence to the actual language of the Bible appeared to be the one safeguard against error. The Song of Solomon was most frequently reproduced in these paraphrases, but twelve chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul's Epistles, and other somewhat unlikely parts of Scripture were versified. It was thought that the Bible was universally capable of musical expression. This feeling, though strained unnaturally, bore good fruit. 'That grand note of our greatest hymns, impregnation with Scripture, is in great measure the heritage of the paraphrases.' Dr. Watts is careful to state in the Preface to his hymns that he 'might have brought some text . . . and applied it to the margin of every verse.' To the paraphrases also we owe the division of our hymns into objective and subjective. Their free and joyous praise with the less introspective expressions of sorrow and penitence are a heritage from the Psalms; the delineation of more subtle emotions and moods is mainly the reflection of the New

Testament paraphrases. The free grouping of texts which characterized the later paraphrases naturally led to the type of hymn with which we are familiar in Watts. 'The habit of sermon and commentary made it an almost irresistible impulse to interweave the familiar parallel passages, to make one passage a theme of expansion by others, to omit and combine for the sake of unity; all the while, as they believed, keeping within the letter of Scripture. Then came the license of some connecting verse as a piece of machinery. And only one step more converted the Scriptural Paraphrase into the Scriptural Hymn.' Dr. Watts gave a somewhat loose interpretation to the word paraphrase, but he kept the thought steadily in view. His first hymn, 'Behold the glories of the Lamb,' is based on Revelation v., and his best poetry bears the same stamp.

Before the publication of Wither's collection our hymns were few in number. They had already, however, won a place in English devotion. Dr. Donne often had his own verses, 'Wilt thou forgive that sin?' sung in his presence at St. Paul's. George Herbert on the last Sunday of his life called for his viol and sang to its accompaniment his own words, 'The Sundays of man's life.' J. B. P.'s 'Hierusalem, my happie home,' which bears date 1601, is one of the treasures of English hymnody. In 1623, George Wither gained permission to have his 'Hymns and Songs of the Church' bound up with every copy of the Metrical Psalms. Besides the usual paraphrases it contained hymns for all the festivals. Instead of fame and profit, however, the work brought him persecution and loss. In 1641, many of these pieces were republished in *Hallelujah, Britain's Second Remembrancer*, dedicated to the Long Parliament. That collection cannot be accused of any want of variety, for, 'When washing, On a boat, Sheep-Shearing, House-Warming, For lovers, Tailors, Jailer, Prisoner, Member of Parliament,' are some of its headings.

We owe to this period some fine hymns. Samuel Crossman, Prebendary, and afterwards Dean of Bristol, published in 1664 some pieces which are still sung with delight in many a congregation, 'Jerusalem on high,' and 'Sweet place alone.' Ken's three hymns were written within ten years of that time;

Richard Baxter's tender hymn of resignation, 'Lord it belongs not to my care,' appeared in 1681.

Singing almost became a lost art for Nonconformity during the rigour of the Conventicle Act. An amusing account of the way in which Benjamin Keach succeeded in gradually restoring it to the worship of his own Baptist Church is given in Mr. Spurgeon's history of his Tabernacle. Keach had risked much for devotional music. His congregation had been surprised by its singing. He had himself been trampled on by a trooper's horse and thrown into prison, but his conviction that singing the praises of God 'was a holy ordinance of Jesus Christ' was only deepened by such troubles. He wrote a little book in defence of hymns, and managed at last to get them safely restored to Dissenting worship. Keach also published two volumes of hymns. Other collections sprang up, though they had no great merits. Dr. Watts made a memorable advance on his predecessors. Mr. Julian pays a high tribute to the soft richness of his diction; his free, vigorous rhythm, especially in his Long Metres; and to the pervading joyfulness and buoyant faith which light up even his saddest hymns. Watts often complained of the fetter put on him by 'the old narrow metres,' as well as by the necessity of giving each line a complete sense in itself, and 'sinking it to the level of a whole congregation.' His faults are 'bombast and doggerel,' but to him we owe that proportion of parts and central unity which has become so marked a characteristic of our hymns. Those written before his time have little unity. The change originated probably in the slow singing, which limited the number of verses; in the clerk's habit of skipping and combining verses in the metrical Psalms, and in the preacher's desire to condense into a closing hymn the substance or application of his sermon.

The work which Watts began was carried on by the Wesleys, who are 'almost as interesting from the hymnologist's as from the Church historian's point of view.' The old Rector of Epworth—Samuel Wesley—was the author of the Good Friday hymn:—

'Behold the Saviour of mankind
Nailed to the shameful tree,'

which was found lying singed on the grass after his parsonage had been burned down; Samuel Wesley, jun., usher at Westminster School, wrote 'The Lord of Sabbath, let us praise,' and other hymns of high merit; John Wesley's translations from the German relinked English hymnody to that of Germany, and his fine classic taste affected the whole tone of Methodist hymnology. 'But after all,' says Canon Overton in his interesting biographical article, 'it was Charles Wesley who was the *great* hymn-writer of the Wesley family,—perhaps, taking quantity and quality into consideration, the great hymn-writer of all ages.' His evangelical conversion opened his lips in praise, and to the end of his days he sang on with undiminished fervour. He is said to have written six thousand five hundred hymns, 'and though, of course, in so vast a number some are of unequal merit, it is perfectly marvellous how many there are which rise to the highest degree of excellence. . . . It would be simply impossible within our space to enumerate even those of the hymns which have become really classical. The saying that a good hymn is as rare an appearance as that of a comet is falsified by the work of Charles Wesley; for hymns, which are really good in every respect, flowed from his pen in quick succession, and death alone stopped the course of the perennial stream.'

Charles Wesley's poetic faculty was for himself something like another sense. Every mood of the religious life, every incident of the Evangelical Revival found expression in his poetry. His hymns were one of the chief factors in the making of Methodism. Dr. Stoughton justly says the system 'never could have become what it did without its unparalleled hymn-book. That, perhaps, has been more effective in preserving its evangelical theology than Wesley's *Sermons* and his *Notes on the New Testament*. Where one man read the homilies and the Exposition, a thousand sang the hymns. . . . You catch in them the trumpet-blast, the cry of the wounded, the shout of victory, and the dirge at a warrior's funeral.' Dr. Schaff, in his masterly article on 'German Hymnody,' is of the same mind. He writes—'It is a remarkable fact that some of the greatest religious revivals in the Church—as the Reformation,

Pietism, Moravianism, Methodism—were sung as well as preached, and written into the hearts of the people, and that the leaders of those revivals—Luther, Spener, Zinzendorf, Wesley—were themselves hymnists.’ The force of those words will be felt by every student of Church history, not least by those who are familiar with the work of Mr. Moody and Mr. Sankey in England and Scotland.

A few hymns crept into the Scottish Psalter of 1564-5, but they do not seem to have received direct ecclesiastical sanction. None of them were transferred to the Psalter of 1650, or to the Translations and Paraphrases. The General Assembly having already made various unsuccessful attempts to secure a suitable collection of sacred songs, appointed a Committee, in 1742, to prepare a volume of Scripture paraphrases. Some of the Scotch contributions are good, but the collection of 1741-1781 ‘is hardly what might have been expected from the gifts and graces of the ministers of the Church of Scotland’ at that time.

The article on Children’s Hymns by Mr. W. T. Brooke of Walthamstow, ‘whose acquaintance with early English hymnody,’ the editor says, is unrivalled, will repay careful study. The early vernacular carols and hymns do not appear to have been composed expressly for children, though young folk naturally rejoiced to sing them. The history of juvenile hymnody begins with the Reformation. Wither’s ‘Hallelujah’ contains a hymn or two for the young, and Herrick wrote a child’s grace. Jeremy Taylor’s *Golden Grove* contained some ‘Festival Hymns’ ‘fitted to the fancy and devotion of the younger and pious persons, apt for memory, and to be joined to their other prayers.’ Dr. Watts was the first great hymn-writer for the young. His ‘Divine and Moral Songs for Children’ mark an epoch in this branch of our hymnody. The numerous editions published in town and country for more than a century, showed what a need these songs supplied. Charles Wesley also remembered the children. His ‘Gentle Jesus, meek and mild’ is perhaps the chief classic among our nursery hymns. As Sunday Schools sprang up in all parts of the country, psalms and hymns for the young multiplied.

Jane and Ann Taylor's 'Hymns for infant minds' have endeared themselves to every generation since they were written. Mr. Brooke thinks Mrs. Alexander's 'Hymns for little children' 'unequalled and unapproachable,' whilst the Methodist Sunday School Hymn-book 'ranks first in merit of any collection for children yet made.' Certainly the Church's later gift of song has been abundantly consecrated to the service of the nursery and the Sunday School.

We may turn to the article on 'German Hymnody' by Dr. Schaff. He is justly proud that Germany surpasses all other lands in its wealth of hymns. The number cannot fall short of a hundred thousand; about ten thousand have become more or less popular. Ever since the Reformation Germany has been adding to her treasury of sacred song. Some of the most exulting strains were sung amid the conflicts of the Reformation, others belong to later days of quickening and revival. 'Thus these hymns constitute a most graphic book of confession for German evangelical Christianity, a sacred band which enriches its various periods, an abiding memorial of its victories, its sorrows, and its joys; a clear mirror, showing its deepest experiences, and an eloquent witness for the all-conquering and invincible life-power of the evangelical Christian faith.' In the Middle Ages German hymnody is full of hagiolatry and Mariolatry. Luther was himself the first evangelical hymnist. He gave the people the Bible, through which God spoke to their hearts, he gave them the hymn-book by which they poured out their hearts to God. Dr. Schaff styles Luther the Ambrose of German hymnody. His sacred songs proved, next to the German Bible, 'the most effective missionaries of evangelical doctrines and piety.' Others caught his spirit, and used their gifts of sacred song to promote the Reformation cause. German hymnody had its dark age between 1757 and 1816, when Rationalism wrought havoc in the country. Purists set themselves to remove the uncouth language, irregular rhymes, antiquated words, and Latinisms, which disfigured many old hymns. Klopstock altered twenty-nine of them. 'He was followed by a swarm of hymnological tinkers and poetasters who had no sympathy with the theology and

poetry of the grand old hymns of faith; weakened, diluted, mutilated, and watered them, and introduced these misimprovements into the churches. The original hymns of rationalistic preachers, court chaplains, and superintendents, now almost forgotten, were still worse, mostly prosy and tedious rhymes on moral duties. . . . Instead of hymns of faith and salvation, the congregations were obliged to sing rhymed sermons on the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the delights of reunion, the dignity of man, the duty of self-improvement, the nature of the body, and the care of animals and flowers.' Yet this was the classic age of German literature. A better time dawned at last; 'rich in hymns which combine the old faith with classical elegance of form, sound doctrine with deep feeling.'

Roman Catholicism during the second half of this century has given us a group of hymn writers whose names have been household words among all the churches. It is a significant fact that John Henry Newman, Frederick W. Faber, Edward Caswall, and Frederick Oakley, the chief hymn writers of that communion, were all clergymen of the Church of England, and went over to Rome. Mr. Orby Shipley, whose *Annus Sanctus* is a work of great hymnological interest, was also an English clergyman before he joined the Roman Communion. Until Newman's accession Roman Catholics were scarcely aware of the 'treasures of hymnody in their own office books,' or awake to the vast possibilities of congregational singing. 'Considering how many are the hymns of singular power and beauty, venerable also, through their long use, which are contained in the Roman *Missal*, *Offices*, and *Breviary*, it is surprising that Roman Catholic poets did not long before the present century, render them more frequently into English verse.' There were some attempts in this direction. The Jesuit Southwell, who suffered for treason in Queen Elizabeth's reign, wrote a few good hymns and carols. The English Roman Catholics who settled on the Continent during days of persecution, issued some translations from the Latin with versions of the Old Church hymns. Dryden's translation of 'Veni Creator Spiritus,' and Pope's

'Vital Spark,' were notable Romanist contributions to the general service of praise. But it is Cardinal Newman who ranks as 'one of the great restorers of Roman Catholic Hymnody.' His most popular hymn, 'Lead, kindly light,' was indeed written before he renounced Anglicanism, and his *Tract 'On the Roman Breviary,'* published in 1836, contained translations of fourteen Latin hymns. He carried on this work when he sought a new home. Mr. Julian holds that his influence on hymnology has not been of a marked character. He says, 'two brilliant original pieces, and little more than half a dozen translations from the Latin, are all that can claim to rank with his inimitable prose.' We are inclined to consider this a just verdict, yet much may be said for Mr. Earle's view in the article on Roman Catholic Hymnody. He thinks Newman's influence as 'in himself a type of rhythmical utterance, and the author of several hymns and translations of supreme excellence' has been deep and widespread. His 'Praise to the Holiest in the height,' from the 'Dream of Gerontius, is also a noble hymn, though it has not attained the popularity of the earlier piece. Edward Caswall's version of St. Bernard's 'Joyful Rhythm' on the name of Jesus 'has become a national treasure. It was published in his *Lyra Catholica* two years after he resigned his living and in the year before he was received into the Roman Catholic communion. Caswall's translations of the Latin hymns are only surpassed in popularity by those of Dr. Neale. His faithfulness to the original and his purity of rhythm go far to explain the charm of his renderings. Frederick Faber, the most fruitful of modern Romanist hymnists, did more than any other man to promote congregational singing in his adopted communion. 'He certainly perceived and appreciated, as a scholar, and from his standpoint as a Roman Catholic, the double advantage possessed by a church which sings both in an ancient and modern tongue, making two-fold melody continually unto God. He did not prize the less the magnificent hymns of Christian antiquity in Latin, because he taught congregations to sing in the English of to-day.' In the preface to his 'Jesus and Mary,' he says it was natural 'that an English son of St.

Philip (Neri) should feel the want of a collection of English Catholic hymns fitted for singing. The few in the *Garden of the Soul* were all that were at hand, and of course they were not numerous enough to furnish the requisite variety. As to translations they do not express Saxon thoughts and feelings, and consequently the poor do not take to them. The domestic wants of the Oratory, too, keep alive the feeling that something of the sort was needed.' Hence Faber became a hymnist. He had already written hymns which 'became very popular with a country congregation.' We gather that he refers to Elton in Huntingdonshire, where he was rector before he left the Anglican church. He had been taught the power of hymnology before he went over to Rome. We may add that he learned his art from Protestant models, for he set himself to emulate the simplicity and intense fervour of the Olney hymns and those of the Wesleys. Speaking of them as a whole, Faber's hymns are too luscious and sentimental, nevertheless some of them are treasures which we would be sorry indeed to lack in our Common Book of Praise. Mr. Earle says, 'to these three—Cardinal Newman, Caswall and Faber—the Roman Catholic hymnody in England principally owes its revival.' Anglicanism produced them all. Roman Catholic congregations thus owe no small debt to the Church of England, and in some sense they have well repaid it. The noble hymns are dear alike to all sections of the Church. They show that deep down beneath all our differences lie great fundamental truths in which true Christian people are at one. Such hymns are what Dean Stanley would have called the homely facts which turn away the wrath 'kindled by an anathema, by an opinion, by an argument.' The hymns which Romanist and Protestant alike delight to sing are a step towards that true catholicity of spirit which, amid all our divergences, we delight to cultivate.

The definition of a hymn given in the Dictionary might easily be overlooked as it comes at the beginning of the article on Latin Hymnody, not in a separate form. Augustine says a hymn 'is a song with praise of God. If thou singest and praisest not God, thou utterest no hymn. A

hymn, then, containeth these three things; song, and praise, and that of God. Praise, then, of God in song is called a hymn.' The writer of the article, (Mr. J. D. Chambers, M.A., Recorder of New Sarum) cites Gregory Nazianzen's *Modulata laus est hymnus*, and refers to a definition in the Cottonian MS. which says a hymn must be praise of God or of his saints, be capable of being sung, and be metrical. Lord Selborne, in his *Book of Praise*, holds that 'a good hymn should have simplicity, freshness, and reality of feeling; a consistent elevation of tone, and a rhythm easy and harmonious, but not jingling or trivial. Its language may be homely, but should not be slovenly or mean. Affectation or visible artifice is worse than excess of homeliness; a hymn is easily spoilt by a single falsetto note. Nor will the most exemplary soundness of doctrine atone for doggerel, or redeem from failure a prosaic, didactic style.'

Rigid adherence to those canons would have much reduced the size of Mr. Julian's Dictionary, but such variety of taste exists in hymnological matters that one is thankful to find that many hymns of lesser worth have gained a place in this standard book of reference. Any one who wishes to appreciate the labours of Mr. Julian and his staff of helpers should turn to the annotations and biographical sketches which form the staple of this huge volume. Twelve columns deal with the text of the *Dies Irae*, discuss its authorship, liturgical use and translations, of which there are more than a hundred and fifty. Daniel says every word of this glorious sequence 'is weighty, yea, even a thunderclap.' Archbishop Trench grows enthusiastic in his description of the triple rhyme falling on the ear like blow following blow on the anvil. Thomas Celano's confidence in the universal interest of his theme made him handle it with an unadorned plainness which renders it intelligible to all. His Great Judgment hymn has written its own history broad and deep on the Middle Ages. What influence a hymn may exert is seen in St. Bernard's 'Jesu dulcis memoria.' It was probably written when he was in retirement, smarting under the indignation of his contemporaries over the disastrous failure of the Second Crusade, of which he had been

the preacher. It is true that his 'Joyful Rhythm on the name of Jesus' labours under the defect of a certain monotony and want of progress, but the fascination of the theme and the tenderness and warmth of the minstrel's touch have made the hymn a sacred heritage. A few hymns have been more extensively translated into English, 'but no other poem in any language has furnished to English and American hymn-books so many hymns of sterling worth and well-deserved popularity.' St. Bernard seems as if he had scattered abroad the sacred fire and raised up a whole choir of singers who shared his own devotion. Around Luther's most famous hymn—'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott'—the battle-song of the Reformation, a history of its own has gathered. 'Jesu, Lover of My Soul,' is one of Charles Wesley's lyrics, the popularity of which increases with its age. Few hymns have been so extensively used. The transformations of its first four lines make them unique as an editorial curiosity. Mr. Julian knows no portion of a stanza which has undergone so many alterations. He awards the psalm for popularity among Charles Wesley's hymns to 'Hark, how all the wellkin rings.' 'Amongst English hymns, it is equalled in popularity only by Toplady's "Rock of Ages," and Bishop Ken's Morning and Evening hymns, and is excelled by none. In literary merit it falls little, if anything, short of this honour.' With this suggestive estimate we may close our studies in the Dictionary of Hymnology. We could have wished that the masterly articles on hymnody had been woven together so as to form a connected history of the subject of church psalmody since apostolic times. We have endeavoured to make some approach to such an outline in the limited space at our disposal. It may probably help some student to follow out the history in detail for himself. A rather awkward sentence occurs in the notice of Beza, which says 'he was honoured till his death,' as though the world then discovered that he was not worthy of honour. Dr. Grosart in his notice of Dr. Punshon, says 'he preferred evangelizing to stated preaching.' The fact being that Methodism with its three years' system gave its ministers no opportunity for stated preaching in Dr. Punshon's day. These

are mere trifles, however. The catholicity of temper, the prodigious research, the unfailing accuracy in matters great or small, make this ponderous Dictionary of Hymnology a monumental work. There is not a page which does not furnish some delight for the lover of 'psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs.'

J. TELFORD.

ART. VII.—THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the renowned King of Sweden, fell at the battle of Lützen, on the 16th November, 1632. The exact manner of his death is a question which has not yet been satisfactorily answered. Some writers have asserted that he was assassinated, while others have suggested that he met his death by getting separated from his followers, and coming suddenly upon the enemy, was fired at and hit, and falling from his horse, was killed by some of the Imperial Cavalry. The statements made in the various records of the period, and the results of the investigations of the foremost historical writers, have been so contradictory that they have only increased the doubt. It is true that the Duke of Lauenberg was suspected of being either the assassin, or of having employed some one to kill the King. He had only a short time before left the service of Austria and entered that of Sweden, and after the King's death again joined the Imperialists. The historians Pufendorf, Chemnitz, and others, spread the suspicions against him, and did not hesitate to brand him with the everlasting disgrace of being an assassin. Oxenstiern, the Swedish Chancellor, was convinced that he was the murderer; and Torstenson, one of the noblest and most generous of men, also seemed to feel that the Duke was guilty; but though the suspicion was strong, no proof was brought against him.

I have recently been examining the Archives in various cities in Germany, in the hope of finding some items of

interest, hitherto unpublished, regarding the Thirty Years' War. Among the State Papers deposited in the Castle of Marburg, I found a Narrative, written by an eye-witness, giving an account of the death of the Swedish King. This document, which is dated Lützen, 16th June, 1633, has not, so far as I am aware, been noticed in any English work.* Its writer, Hans von Hastendorff, was in attendance on the King, and was severely wounded in the course of the battle. His 'Narrative,' (which is in substance as follows,) begins with a few general remarks about the King and the wars in which he had been engaged; and then describes the coming together of the opposing forces at Lützen. 'Gustavus had not intended to fight on that day, but God willed it otherwise.† . . . The morning was so densely foggy that it was scarcely possible for one person to see another. . . . At about 8 o'clock it lightened a little, and the enemy made a reconnaissance. They were attacked by the Finns, and driven back, but the fog again coming down, they were unable to extricate themselves, and get back to their main army. Their reserves, however, being brought up, the battle began in earnest. . . . An officer despatched from the Finns came to the King, and handing over to him several standards which they had taken, gave an account of the struggle. Thereupon the King issued orders for the rest of the army to advance and second their efforts. . . . The fighting continuing notwithstanding the fog, the King accompanied by certain atten-

* In J. H. Noodt's contribution to the History of Schleswig-Holstein (published in 1749) reference is made to a '*Fragment* by Hans von Hastendorff,' who is stated to have been a page in the King's retinue, and who, 'it appears to be certain, had been an eye-witness of what he related.' [*Gustav Adolf der Grosse, König von Schweden, ein historisches Gemälde*, by Fr. Ludwig von Rango, Leipzig, 1824.] This is the only notice of von Hastendorff's 'Narrative' which I have seen.—J. M.

† A marginal note by von Hastendorff states that 'on the 29th October, (eight days before the battle) the King, speaking to his Chaplain, said, that he saw clearly that the Lord would allow a misfortune to come upon his army, for his people had forsaken God, and placed their trust in him [the King] and were too confident.'

dants rode out to see how the battle was progressing. The words of the Narrative are:—

We were five who rode out from the camp; the first was the King Gustavus who is called the Great; two were at once despatched to the Finns with orders that they were not to press too eagerly after the enemy; the fourth was ‘a great Lord’ (whom, however, the narrative does not name, but adds that he was) ‘notorious throughout all Germany;’ and the fifth was Von Hastendorf himself, who remained with the King the whole time because he was ‘well acquainted with all the roads.’ He narrates that while they were riding ‘a cannon ball came and struck me as well as my horse. I lost my leg, and my life was not worth much. Gustavus hastened forward and when about fifty paces distant from where I lay wounded, I saw a traitor shoot him in the head.* The blood at once ran over his face so that he could scarcely see, yet he fired both his pistols at the traitor, but failed to hit him. The King staggered around on his horse about twenty times, while the traitor sat at some distance watching to see how it would end. When the King could no longer retain his seat, he dismounted and let his horse go, and laying himself on the ground, he, in a clear voice commended his soul to God, and advised all those who lay near him to do likewise.

‘The traitor, who had seen all this, now came forward and cut and struck at the King, and gave him nine wounds. Then the King recognising him, and addressing him by name, said, “God turn your heart, and forgive you for your evil deeds, even as I forgive you!” To those lying near him he said, “See, all ye who have yet life, how I, as a return for my kindness [to this man] am murdered!” Thereupon the traitor rode away. The King had his sword in his hand. He was covered with blood . . . so that it was scarcely possible to recognise him. . . . It happened here, as David spake, “He who has eaten my bread has lifted up his foot against me;” for in this manner was the King Gustavus treated by the fourth one of the party who rode out from the camp.’

* This was about nine o'clock.

The death of the King is narrated as follows:—‘When he had laid himself upon the ground, he said, “Lord Jesus, sinner that I am, sustain me, for my grave will be here. Lord Jesus, forgive him this evil deed! Lord Jesus into thy hands I commend my spirit, my body and my soul. Thou hast pardoned me thou faithful God. Lord Jesus, in thee I live, in thee I die; living or dead I am thine. Lord Jesus, strengthen me in this hour. Be faithful, dear soul, till death; soon, soon thy Jesus will give thee the Crown of Life.” Raising his head and looking around he said, “Lord Jesus, support the righteous cause; thou knowest that I have a righteous cause, and thou wilt not forsake it.” Then addressing himself to those of his own people who lay near him, he said, “Here lies Gustavus Adolphus murdered. My daughter shall inherit my kingdom. The mother while she lives will administer the government. She is now a widow and my daughter an orphan. Lord Jesus govern the kingdom to thy glory. Lord Jesus forgive the sins of all these who lie near me; those who have been wounded by the enemy relieve from pain and misery, and strengthen their hearts and give them courage so that they despair not; and when we part from this world give us joy and peace in the world to come. For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. Lord Jesus into thy hands I commend my spirit. Thou hast pardoned me, thou faithful God. Lord Jesus, be merciful to me a sinner. O Jesus, Jesus!” These were his last words.*’

Von Hastendorff then makes some observations on the great things that Gustavus had done Germany, and how he had striven for religion and the fatherland. ‘Germany,’ he says, ‘may well mourn, for here a great hero has fallen.’ He ends his narrative as follows—‘As I lay in my distress with pains and lamentations praying God to help me out of my trouble, there came three individuals riding with great speed.’ Recognising them and guessing what they wanted, he called out, ‘Gustavus for whom you are looking, lies near me dead!’

* He died at twelve o'clock noon.

Thereupon they began to weep and lament. One of them rode off to bring a surgeon; the others, who remained, were deeply agitated. Soon numbers of people drew near, and lamenting over the King his remains were carried away.* But, adds Von Hastendorff, 'I was left lying there wounded, and therefore do not know anything further. . . . This is all true that I have written, because I saw everything with my own eyes . . . and that it all so happened as I have written I attest with my own name.'

'HANS VON HASTENDORFF.'

At the end of this document there is a rough diagram showing the place where von Hastendorff lay wounded, after he was shot and lost his leg, with the relative position of the spot where the King was murdered. It is to be regretted that in his 'Narrative' he did not give the names of all the 'five who rode out from the camp;' but as Noodt in his *Schleswig Holstein* has stated that he (von Hastendorff) was certainly an eye-witness of what he described, there can be no reason to doubt the truth of his statement. The Narrative is also indirectly confirmed by the words of the Apothecary Caparus, who embalmed the body of the King. In his report to the Swedish Council, he states he found that the King had received nine wounds caused by shot, by cutting, and by stabbing. [Von Rango's *Gustav Adolf der Grosse*].

A possible reason why von Hastendorff did not give the name of the assassin may be this. The Duke of Lauenburg had powerful friends, and any one accusing him of having committed the foul deed, (even supposing that he had been the miscreant,) would have done so at the risk of his own life. Indeed, in a note to that part of the 'Narrative' where it is stated that the 'traitor' gave the King nine wounds, von Hastendorff added, 'As long as I live I shall always regret that I dare not tell what I witnessed at Lützen on the 6th of November. I would die for it, I doubt not. But God is a judge,—that I assure you—you murderer and traitor!'

* This was about three o'clock in the afternoon.

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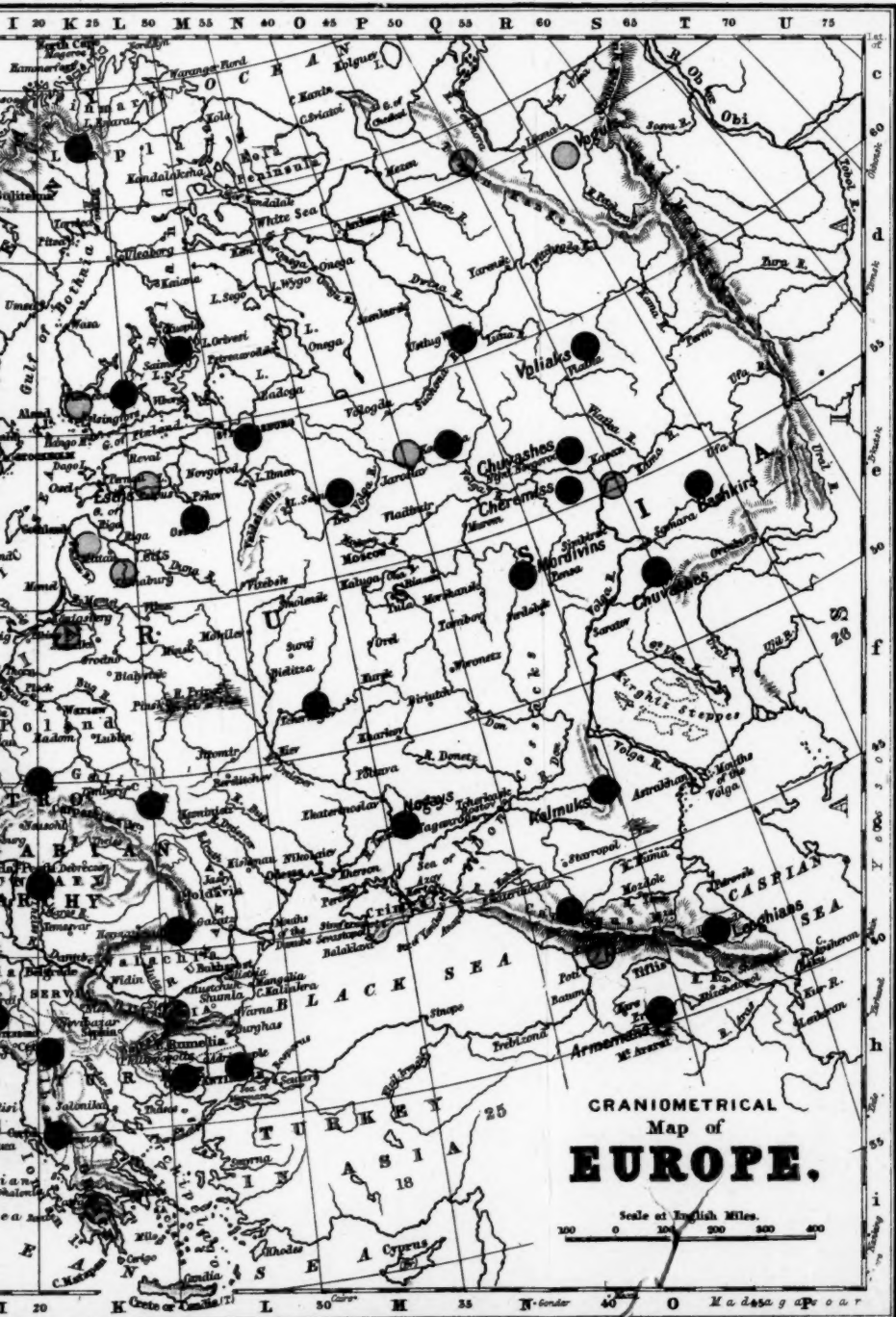
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Cephalic Index
Average Breadth
of the Skull
(Length being 100)

- under 75
- 75-77.4
- 77.5-79.9
- 80-85
- 85 & upwards



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The Duke of Lauenburg after he re-entered the Austrian service, also changed his religion and became a Papist; and as General de Peyster (author of a *Life of Torstenson*, and other works bearing on the Thirty Years' war,) in a letter on this subject, has remarked, 'he was such a contemptible turn-coat, in religion as in every thing else, that this is almost sufficient to make one form a judgment as to his criminality in regard to the murder. It was the opinion of those who, at the time, were most likely to know the truth; and such is my opinion after examining so many authorities.' Few people have studied the history of the Thirty Years' war so thoroughly as General de Peyster, and if anyone is qualified to form an opinion on the subject at the present day, he is.

Perhaps the names of those who accompanied the King on that memorable morning, when he left the camp at Lützen, may be found in the Archives at Stockholm, or elsewhere in Sweden. As a historical fact, it would be interesting to get the disputed point regarding the King's death settled,—if von Hastendorff's 'Narrative' is not considered decisive. I am persuaded that he referred to the Duke of Lauenburg as the 'murderer and traitor.'

Although there were several Scottish officers with Gustavus at Lützen, it is rather remarkable that this unfortunate occasion, was the only one, in the course of his German Campaign, in which he engaged the enemy, without the assistance of his Scottish Brigade.

JOHN MACKAY.

ART. VIII.—THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE.

Being the First Rhind Lecture 1891.

IN accordance with the will of my valued and lamented friend the founder of the Rhind Lectureship, I am taking for my subject the anthropology of ancient Europe and its connection with that of modern Europe, and especially of our

own country; including the descent and connections, or relations of physical types. If from these we can deduce anything as to the laws which govern the changes that have taken place in these types, or as to the causes of their development, so much the better. I scarcely hope to do that; but I may perhaps be able at least to place some of the problems of anthropology before you.

Now, these are of course many; but there are two which above all others are at present constant subjects of debate; and one of them is what may be shortly denoted as the Aryan Question, while the other is the question of the degree of permanence of types, of the stability or permanence of form and colour, of the influence upon physical character of media, of surroundings and external agencies, whether directly or by way of natural selection.

The Aryan question was originally a philological one: it was philological discovery that gave it birth—the discovery of Sanskrit and Zend, and of their relation to the principal European languages—and while everybody devoutly believed in the powerful and rapid influence of media, and was not particularly curious as to the mode of working of these media, while everybody thought that negroes were black because the sun had burned them so, and nobody troubled his own head about the form of the heads of other folk, there was no difficulty in believing that all people who spoke Aryan (or Indo-German) languages were of one blood.

Then came the knowledge of the Indian and Persian sacred books, of how the Veda introduced the white-complexioned friends of Indra from the north-west, and how the Vendidad brought the noble Aryan from a cold country, where there were only two months of summer, and which apparently lay closer to Sogdiana and Bactria, to the Jaxartes and the Oxus, than to any other part of ancient Iran. And so it was that the Roof of the World, the tableland of Pamir, and the villages that seamed its skirts, came to be looked on as the cradle of the Aryan race.

I believe it was my old friend, Dr. Robert Gordon Latham, who was the first to rebel against this doctrine. He was the

father of many paradoxes, most of which perished still-born or in their cradles; but this one, though ill received at first in the land of its birth, thrived wonderfully in Germany, where philologists found arguments in its favour more cogent perhaps than those of its parent, whose chief point indeed was the simple one that, whereas there were far more Aryan-speaking men in Europe than in Asia, the *onus probandi* lay on those who would derive the greater from the less, rather than the less from the greater. The same kind of argument might have been used to derive the Jews from Poland, or the British people from the United States, or rather from North America, or the Portuguese from Brazil.

Other and important elements and considerations have since been introduced into the question, or recognized as bearing upon it. Many of these are philological: much, as you are aware, is deduced from study of the words which are common to all or most of the Indo-German languages, and may therefore be supposed to have belonged to the original Aryan tongue. On this part of the subject I am quite incompetent to enlarge; but I would like to take the opportunity of expressing some doubt whether sufficient notice is taken of the easy transference of meaning, in the words which are used for the purpose of this line of argument, which may considerably affect their value. Thus the Latin *æs* appears to be identical with the German *eisen*. Geiger drew attention to this case of transference; but, however well known, it seems sometimes to be forgotten or underestimated.

The investigation, by a distinguished Hungarian traveller, of the Galchas, the race who inhabit Karategin, Durwaz, Shig-nan, Wakhan, the elevated valleys of the Oxus and the Zerafshan, which constitute precisely the cradle of the Aryan race, according to those who cling to the earlier theory, has also given some of us new lights on the subject. For whereas we northern Europeans have most of us long-oval or oblong heads, and the same is the case with high-caste Hindus, who, by the original hypothesis, were our near kinsfolk; we were accustomed to assume, that we were the genuine descendants of the potentially gifted Aryan; while the anthropologists of the

central latitudes of Europe, including the great Broca himself, having heads whose breadth was greater than four-fifths of their length, sat contentedly under the imputation of belonging to an inferior race, which, among other benefits, had received from us at least the rudiments of their admirable languages. For had not Broca himself shewn, pretty conclusively, that head-form was a vastly more permanent characteristic of race than language?

Wood, and I believe Burnes, and perhaps one or two Russian travellers, had indeed penetrated the inmost recesses of Pamir, but Ujfalvy was the first to submit a competent number of the Galchas to scientific investigation. And in his hands they turned out to be a sturdy, thick-set, short-headed population, dark-haired on the whole and hazel-eyed, though including a certain proportion of blonds, and on the whole yielding, to the callipers and measuring tape, figures not unlike what may be gotten in Auvergne, or in the Alpine valleys of Savoy or Piedmont.

Now these Galchas, with their neighbours the Badakshani (lying south of them between the Oxus and the Hindu Kush, and reported to resemble them), have apparently the best title to represent our Aryan ancestors, if those ancestors are really to be sought in Asia. It would be natural for the surplus population of these valleys to overflow into Sogdiana and Bactria, as it is represented in the Vendidad to have done.

It is true, on the other hand, that the tribes which occupy the secluded valleys south of the crest of the Hindu Kush seem to differ physically from the Galchas. But not only the geographical position of these tribes, the Kafirs or Siah-Posh Kafirs, the Chitralis (who seem to be Islamized Kafirs), the people of Hunza-Nagar, the Dards, whom we know to have occupied, by the unmistakeable name of Daradræ, the same position since the dawn of geography; not only their position, but whatever we know of them, seems to indicate that they bear the same relation to the Hindus that the Galchas bear to the Persians; that if the Galchas are the rearguard of the old Persian migration, these Kafirs and Dards are the rearguard of the Aryo-Hindu migration.

Our information regarding the physical characters of these southern tribes is not so comprehensive as might be wished, but here also Ujfalvy has helped us; and it is satisfactory that they have been examined by the very man who knows most about their analogues, the Galchas. Ujfalvy confirms what little other information we have about their crania. They are generally long-headed, the average cephalic index or proportion of breadth to length, being about 75, or nearly identical with the average in our own country. It may be worth mentioning, however, that the one Siah-Posh Kafir who has ever visited England, and whom through the courtesy of Professor Leitner I had the opportunity of examining, was an exception to the rule; he had a short square head, and altogether more resembled the Galchas, as they are described.

There are evidently great varieties of complexion among these people. Bellew says some Kafirs are very dark and others very fair. Ujfalvy met with some blonds; and so did Leitner in Dardistan, and Hayward also; but the first named observer finally concluded that the cradle of the blonds, the fountain-head of the fair races, is not to be found either north or south of the Hindu Kush.

Obviously, with facts like these among the bases of argument, a great number of views about Aryan origins are possible, even after excluding any which might start with a denial of there having ever been a time when the speakers of the primitive Aryan language 'dwelt together under one roof,' or at least in the same horde.

Thus, firstly, the starting-point may have been in the land of the Galchas; the first offswarm may have been that of the ancestors of the European nations, the second that of the ancestors of the high-caste Hindus, the residue being the parents of the Persians and their kindred tribes, the Kurds, Afghans, Ossetes of the Caucasus, etc. This may be said to be the orthodox view, of which Professor Max Müller is the great champion, but it has long been losing ground. Those who adhere to it must entertain strong opinions as to the easy mutability of language, the readiness of one tribe or nation to accept and acquire the language of another; or they must

believe in the powerful and rapid action of media, of external agencies, upon national physique: or, still better, they must combine both these ways of thinking.

A sub-variety of this first species, held by some who have formed a low estimate of the power of external agencies, and particularly by some French anthropologists, is this—that the brachycephalic or broad-headed folk of Central Europe, that is, of the central zone in latitude, which includes most of the great mountain-chains—the Cevennes, the Alps, the Black Forest, the Vosges, the Carpathians and Pindus, with the regions adjacent—that all these are descended from Asiatic ancestors of a common stock with the Galchas, that they brought the Aryan language into Europe, and communicated it to the northern and southern Europeans. This opinion is based upon the resemblance between the Galchas and the Auvergnats, for example, which certainly does appear very close.

Next comes the great modern heresy, already mentioned, which derives the Aryan languages of Asia in their two great branches, the Iranian and the Indian, from Europe. It has gained ground very much of late years, and may now perhaps be said to hold the field. Few, however, of those who hold it make any endeavour to account for the colonization of Asia, the difficulty of doing which is very great. There are two principal subvarieties of this theory, one of which supposes the primitive Aryan language to have originated somewhere in that central region of Europe which I have just now been defining, while the other assigns the credit of having given it birth to the northern zone, and to the blond, dolichocephalic (long-headed) family, of which the Scandinavians furnish the best types. The arguments in favour of these two varieties of opinion may be found respectively in two recent books of small dimensions, and in our own language—that of Canon Isaac Taylor, who champions the Central or Alpine brachycephals, and that of Professor Rendell, who takes up the cause of our own northern long-heads.

There are anthropologists in Germany, however—as Poesche and Fligier, for example—who would trace the patriarchal

Aryan to his lair in the marshes of Lithuania, rather than to the valleys of the Alps or the forests of Sweden. The alleged nearer relation of Sanskrit to Lithuanic than to any other European language, furnishes them with one argument; another, which may or may not be relevant, is that Lithuania has some title to be considered the cradle of the blonds—of this more hereafter; a third is, or might be, the geographical position of the country, which, before the Slavonic Russians pushed north-eastwards across the Dnieper, may have had an uninterrupted plain, totally unoccupied so far as Aryan-speaking men were concerned, extending all the way from their frontier to that of the Galchas or their kindred in Turkestan.

In the next place we must consider briefly the great question of transformation or of variability of type. Time was when no one had any doubt about the powerful influence of external agencies, nor any about their operating in the most direct way. They saw, as we saw, that they do affect the individual both physically and morally, that the sun tans or freckles the complexion of a blond, developing pigment either over the whole exposed surface or merely in spots, and that it darkens or yellows the skin of a brunette. They saw, or thought they saw, that the vigorous, energetic European grew languid and indolent in the tropics; nay, moreover, that his children born there did not grow up equal to their father in energy and spirit. So long ago as the period of the Crusades, the Syrian Creoles, the Syrian-born children of the Frank soldiers, were complimented with the name of *Pulleins-Pullani*, because they were supposed to be chicken-hearted. The Castilian said the grass of Valencia was water, and its men were women, blaming the climate in both cases. The Negro, then, was black because the sun had burnt him, and his father before him; the Red Indian was red, or rather brown, because for generations his ancestors had been exposed to sun and wind without, and to dirt and smoke within, their wigwams. Thomas Price, one of the first men to observe and note differences of physical character in our own islands, ascribed the dark hue of the iris, which he found to prevail in some districts, to the use of coal-fires; while others, with more

apparent probability, ascribed the prognathous features of certain of the Irish peasantry, either to the influence of misery and starvation, or to the continual exercise of the jaws upon large quantities of half-boiled potatoes 'with the bones in them.' You will recollect that eloquent description of them, often quoted for political purposes—'Five feet two inches on an average, pot-bellied, abortively featured, these spectres of a people that once were able-bodied and comely, etc., etc.' Montesquieu in France, and Falconer, and, more recently, Buckle, have probably been the best expositors of this view of the subject. Some of their ideas as to the influence of external agencies on the individual were deserving of respect and consideration; but as a rule they quite ignored the great principles of heredity.

New lights began to play upon the subject from the speculations of Oken and Lamarck and our own Robert Chambers; until finally the full blaze of the great idea of variation of type through natural selection was turned upon it by Darwin and Wallace. Its development checked a current of thought which had meanwhile been in process of growth among the anthropologists, more especially those of France, who a generation ago were the undisputed leaders in their own science. The old idea, derived from the usual interpretation of the Old Testament, had been that all mankind were undoubtedly descended from a single pair, and must therefore have been capable of rapid or even sudden variations of type, in order to the production of the numerous and widely different varieties which we now see scattered over the world. The gradual admission of the claims of geology within the circle of orthodox opinion, only lessened the difficulties of this view, by greatly and indefinitely extending the period available for these variations. But now began a reaction. The French Egyptologists proclaimed that numerous types of man were to be found portrayed in the ancient wall-paintings, identical with those at present existing, and quite as sharply discriminated; and they began to ask why—if 5000 years had done nothing to bring about physical changes in man—why should 50,000 years be supposed to have done so much. Nott and

Gliddon in America, in the Southern States of the American Union, animated obviously and naturally by political feeling, urged this question in reference to the supposed eternal gulf that divided the white man from the black; and their arguments were relied on by Southern politicians. Boudin and Broca, in France, took up the subject of hereditary stature. There is perhaps no physical character which might, *à priori*, be expected to vary more easily under the operation of different conditions of life, and more especially of differences in the nature and relative abundance of nutriment. Boudin, however, maintained that where large masses of population were considered, the scarcity or abundance of food could not be shown to have any influence; and Broca shewed that in France stature was an attribute of race, that tall stature coincided in locality with a fair complexion, a long head, a certain form of nose, and a tendency to suffer from decayed teeth and certain other infirmities.

Some of those anthropologists who built upon Broca's facts carried out their deductions into the region of paradox. Blumenbach and his successors had acknowledged three, or at most five, great varieties of the human species: there was *Homo Sapiens albus europæus*, the white man of Europe and western Asia; *Homo Sapiens flavus asiaticus*, the yellow or Mongolian man; *Homo Sapiens niger africanus*, the negro, then in process of detection elsewhere than in Africa; to these others added *Homo Sapiens ruber americanus*, the Red Indian, whom Blumenbach had made a sub-variety of the Mongolian; and the Malay, also nearer to the Mongolian than to either of the other two original varieties, was by some added as a fifth. Next the Hottentot and the Austral Negro put in their claims for separation. Then Huxley divided the dark whites from the blond whites, *i.e.*, for example, the Spaniards and Berbers from the Swedes. And the last and best classification that I have seen, that of Deniker of Paris, admits thirteen divisions, one of which is entirely constituted by the Aino, the hairy men of Yesso and Saghalien, some of whose blood enters into the composition of the Japanese.

Deniker of course does not claim a separate origin for all his

thirteen varieties of man; he simply means that they are all well-defined, recognizable, and practically permanent in the absence of crossing. Few, if any, now contend for the separate origin of more than two, or three at the most. But it was otherwise not so long ago. In evidence let me cite a particular case. At the foot of the Himalayas extends a long narrow belt of intensely malarious forest called the Terai. So pestilential is the Terai that it used to be said it was death for a European to sleep within its limits, or to traverse them by night; and it was almost equally deadly to even the neighbouring tribes. But there is a race of people called the Bodo, who inhabit this otherwise deserted swamp, and defy its deadly malaria with impunity. They were first described, I believe, by Mr. Bryan Hodgson, who wrote a valuable work on them, and on some other sub-Himalayan tribes. Their civilization of course is low, but their Mongoloid heads and features present scarcely any peculiarities, when compared with those of the Lepchas or other hill-tribes of the Himalaya; the physiognomy may differ a little, but nothing comes out in the measurements. Now Barnard Davis, the 'doyen' of British anthropologists in his day, was well-acquainted with the Bodo, so far as he could be without personally interviewing them. And his opinion was that the Bodo were an entirely distinct variety of man, who derived their singular immunity from fever from their having been created or developed *in situ*.

Since that time opinions have grown to be a little less extreme; the polygenists, the advocates of plurality of origin, have ceased, as I said just now, to require more than two or three starting-points for our species, and have begun to attach more or less importance to the various possible modifying agencies; while the monogenists are more ready to acknowledge the feebleness of the direct action of climate, food, etc., and the slowness of the changes produced in other ways. Before these two parties can come to anything like an agreement, it will be necessary for the biologist to settle a great question which lies behind or at the bottom of all these

disputes—that of the descent by inheritance of acquired characters.

I will now proceed to enumerate a few of the supposed modifying influences:—

First comes the direct influence of climate, of sunshine, temperature, moisture, malaria. Of this we now hear comparatively little, though there is more evidence of the deteriorative effect of malaria on physical type than is generally known.

Secondly, the doubtlessly powerful influence of natural selection, of which new modes of working are continually being found out or suspected. Hereunder, for example, comes the most plausible theory ever yet brought forward to account for the origin of the blond complexion, that of Mr. Buchan of Toronto, who, choosing Southern Scandinavia as its most probable birthplace, shows how a fine transparent skin might give its owner a slight advantage in a somewhat cool and damp climate which it would not have elsewhere, and which indeed might be positively detrimental in a hot country, especially where the air is also dry. Looking at this theory with historical side-lights and qualifications, and taking note of the slowness with which so slight an advantage might be expected to make itself felt, there seems very little to object to it, except the description given by the Chinese annalists of the Woo-Sun, and other green-eyed, red-haired tribes who once inhabited Central Asia. And this objection may be somewhat weakened if we accept the opinions of many geologists as to the recent existence of a great West-Asiatic Sea, of which the Euxine, the Caspian and the Aral are the dwindling remains, and which would have caused the climate of that region to be much damper than it now is.

Malaria evidently works much by natural selection. In New Orleans, for example, the fair races of Northern Europe, including our own, are said to suffer most from yellow fever, and the negroes least; while the dark races of Southern Europe, Huxley's *Melanochroi*, occupy an intermediate position, the French moreover standing worse than the more southern Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians. It would probably be impossible for the Anglo-American permanently to hold his

ground in New Orleans, without the presence of the other races whom he utilises; and if he does succeed in doing so, it is likely that the blonds may in course of time almost entirely disappear from his ranks.

It is my opinion, though I cannot prove it, that a process of selection, which may perhaps be called natural, works against the perpetuation of certain types in our cities. Tall rapidly developing children, and perhaps especially those of fair complexion, have seemed to me less able to thrive without fresh air and abundant food than others. And tall striplings are more apt to suffer from consumption than short, stocky, slowly-developing young men. These may be among the causes of the lower stature of our town artisans and labourers, as compared with the professional and well-to-do classes. This difference, as you are probably aware, is pretty considerable. Roberts and Rawson, summing up the wide field of induction yielded by the schedules of the British Association Committee, found it to amount to quite two inches; and I myself found nearly that difference between the average stature of an upper-class company and of some artisan companies in the Bristol Volunteer Rifle Corps.

Sir James Simpson pointed out, a good many years ago, that nature had placed a barrier in the way of the too great development of the human brain, so that infants with very large heads usually perished at their entry into the world. And I am pretty certain that in this matter nature favours the dolichocephals, the long-headed, rather than the broad-headed type. This conclusion I arrived at many years ago, at a time when the great Maternity Hospital of Vienna afforded me much material for observation.

It is commonly believed, and Alfred Wallace, in particular among naturalists, has insisted upon the consideration, that whereas natural selection operated very strongly in early stages of society in the direction of physical improvement, by the elimination of the smaller and weaker individuals, civilization has now put an end to, or at least greatly restricted, its action. There is of course a considerable amount of truth in this doctrine; but if one particular form of selection, that

which may be styled selection by combat, is no longer largely operative, there are other forms of it, whether rightly to be called 'natural' or not we need not discuss, which are still at work among us, and some of which may conceivably be altering our physical type.

Conjugal selection is one of these. Francis Galton has pointed out that the slackening or positive arrest of intellectual progress during the Middle Ages was due in some measure to the fact that men who had more brain than muscle naturally gravitated towards the monasteries, and being there shut up, and prohibited from marriage, did not reproduce their kind, while the sturdy blockheads who remained outside the convent walls did do so. The anthropologist in this country has great difficulty in obtaining facilities for measuring mediæval skulls: popular and even clerical prejudices on the subject are a serious obstacle; * but I have always taken advantage of any such opportunities; and I have been struck with the fine frontal development of some monkish skulls, while those of persons supposed to have belonged to the mediæval chivalry were often small and poorly developed. This observation evidently corroborates Galton's idea.

The possible effect in this case would be an alteration in the dimensions of the skull, particularly in the frontal region. But it is quite conceivable that the prevailing complexion or colour of hair and eyes might be altered in this kind of way. Fashions change in regard to the popularity of colours; and they differ in different countries. Red hair furnishes the best instance. Red-haired persons do not now constitute the majority in any tribe or nation, not even among the Voguls and Votiaks of the Uralian region; but there is some reason for thinking that red hair was once much more prevalent than now. I doubt whether it ever now occurs among the Brahmins; † yet it is

* The late Dean Macneil of Ripon buried, unmeasured and unchronicled, a most valuable collection of mediæval bones, which had occupied the crypt of the minster for centuries before he came to disturb it.

† I have lately learned from Dr. Balfour that a small tribe of Brahmins exists somewhere to the south of Bombay among whom red or light hair is not uncommon.

pretty certain that it once did, else why were Brahmins forbidden, as it is said they were, by the laws of Manu, to marry red-haired women. Blondes and red-haired persons do still occur about the Hindu Kush, among the tribes from whom the Brahmins are supposed to have been emigrants; and from that fact, as well as from the existence of the law, we may conclude that they continued to appear, in small numbers doubtless, among the Brahmins domiciled in India, and that no unfavourable action of climate had extinguished them. But obedience to the law in question would certainly in the course of time annihilate the tendency to their production.

In Germany the colour seems to have been unpopular for ages, curiously enough, as it belonged more particularly to the nobles and freemen, who were of true Germanic blood. Red-haired men are, and have long been, known as 'foxes' among the peasantry. So far as we can trust the descriptions left us by classical writers—I confess I do *not* trust them implicitly—the Germans were once as prevalingly red-haired as we know, on surer grounds, that they were long-headed; but at present red hair is not common among them, and when it occurs it is not like the brilliant Highland red that we are familiar with. May not fashion, operating through conjugal selection, have had something to do with its diminution.

In Britain there have been changes in fashion with regard to its estimation, and during the present generation the æsthetic revival, bringing to bear the pretty persistent admiration of it expressed by artists and poets, have rendered it highly popular, at least among the upper classes. So it was during most of the sixteenth century, for I believe it was flattery in Holbein that led to its appearing so frequently on his canvas, and we may apply the same test which convicts the golden-haired beauties of Venice in the palmy days of her artists; we may examine comparatively the portraits of the *men* of the same date, when we shall find no such preponderance of auburn and golden hues as in the other sex.

Some years ago I endeavoured to investigate this question of the possible influence of conjugal selection on colour, and the ultimate result to which I came, from the observation of

nearly 600 women, was that among the labouring classes of Bristol fewer of the red-haired and of the black-haired women entered into matrimony than of the fair, brown, or dark-brown. I do not think the basis was broad enough to sustain much weight of induction; but, as I have stated elsewhere, if the case were really as my figures seemed to show, and if the same condition of things were to endure for a few generations, the discouragement of the production of hair-pigment would be so great that we should have a general prevalence of dull shades of brown, to the confusion and despair of poets and artists.

It is very difficult to estimate or analyse at all satisfactorily the power which different marriage-rates may have upon the reproduction of different elements of population. That it may be very great has been shewn by Francis Galton, in his *Enquiries into Human Faculty*, where, taking two populations of equal number, in one of which the women are supposed to marry at the age of 20, and in the other at 29, all other things being equal, he calculates that in 324 years the former group will have increased from 100 to 535, while the latter will have decreased from 100 to 23. 'The general result,' says he, 'is that the group B gradually disappears, and the group A more than supplants it.'

Of course the matter is not quite so simple as it appears in Galton's statement; there are considerations, for example, as to the relative mortality of children, of premature, of mature, and of too late marriages, which cannot be very accurately weighed, and which are here put aside; but there can be doubt of the substantial truth of the conclusion, that in a few hundred years the community A would be a good many times more numerous than the community B, which latter would probably be well on its way towards extinction.

Yet the disadvantage at which community B is placed, in this imaginary comparison, is probably not so great as that at which some sections or classes in a nation are frequently placed in relation to the rest. Let us allow that in the days of long-period military service the enlisted men were physically above the average in stature and vigour. I conjecture that such was really the case while the standard for recruits was high,

and when the Scottish Highlanders and the south-country and Irish peasantry were still enlisting. It is clear that these men, as a class, could not have reproduced the species to any great extent; such of them as escaped all the dangers of a soldier's career returned home comparatively late in life, and would be in a worse position in this respect by far than Galton's community B. And inasmuch as they were so, the general physical standard of the next generation would, we conclude, be slightly lowered. It *was* lowered in France by Napoleon's wars.

But soldiers are not the only class in which the relative frequency of marriage is lessened, and the average age at marriage raised, by the circumstances of their profession. In this country, and at the present time, this applies more or less to the whole of the upper middle classes, the best educated portion of the community, who will therefore contribute far less than their share to the mass of the coming generation.

In most countries, and at most periods, the influence of caste-division has made itself felt in this direction. To some races, reduction to slavery has been merely a deferred death-sentence; thus nations perished, after passing through the status of slavery, during the expansion of the Roman power; and the Indians of the Antilles withered away under the Spanish tyranny. The freemen of ancient Greece seem to have multiplied their noble type of man at a very rapid rate; and their civilization was based upon slavery. But the rule is that a governing caste multiplies far less freely than a subordinate one. There are several obvious causes for this. The prudential check tells more on those who have something to lose, than on those who have nothing.

Thus, in the old border ballad, Sir James Murray is quite willing to risk his life by rising in arms against the King:

‘The king has gifted my lands langsyne;
It canna be nae waur with me!’

while Andrew Murray, the more prosperous member of the family, takes a more anxious view—

‘ Judge gif it stands na hard wi’ me
To enter against a king wi’ crown,
An put my lands in jeopardie ? ’

Then the ruling or superior caste is usually and naturally the military one, and subject to all the risks of military life.* But most important is usually the caste-feeling against giving the daughters of the family to inferiors in rank, even when no other husbands are available. Hence infanticide and nunneries, and gradual decline in numbers of the legitimate members of the caste; while the subordinate castes, wherein marriage is more facile, multiply and rise to power.

The great expenditure of life among mariners, many of whom perish unmarried at early ages, must at least diminish the rate of increase among maritime communities.

Among people who emigrate from their native country to colonise another and a vacant or a thinly peopled one, divers and contrary influences seem to work. In the beginning, while there are still difficulties with hostile aborigines, scanty supplies of food, ignorance of the effects of climate, and so forth, there is usually great expenditure of life and little reproduction; but as the colony grows and thrives, and receives a sufficient supply of the female element, the birthrate usually becomes exceedingly high, and multiplication rapid. Perhaps the most conspicuous modern instance of this is to be found in the province of Quebec, where the French Canadians, assisted probably by the cross of Red Indian blood which brings their constitution into better harmony with the climate, have multiplied in a century and a half from a few thousands up to more than a million.

In Australasia too, as well as in the United States of America, the rate of increase was for a long time exceedingly high, though in both it seems to be now diminishing with the increase of density of population, and of the social difficulties thereby entailed. At the same time the artisan population of the towns seems to contribute the greater

* ‘ *Rara est in nobilitate senectus*, ’ is the motto on the fine old monument of the Herberts in Montgomery Church.

proportion of the increase, while among the adventurous pioneers in the back settlements the rate is comparatively low. The relevance of this may not immediately appear; but it will seem more distinct when I call your attention to the fact that types of men different physically as well as morally gravitate towards different lines of life. Thus Calvinistic theology is attractive to the man of melancholic, not to the man of sanguine temperament. Now these temperaments have respectively their external signs, and do not occur with equal frequency in all races. There are many other factors in the destiny of an individual besides his physical constitution; but nevertheless I believe you will find that an unusual proportion of men with dark straight hair enter the ministry; that the red-whiskered men are apt to be given to sporting and horseflesh; and that tall vigorous blond long-headed men, lineal descendants of the Vikings, or of the Athelings who 'won England, and refused not the hard sword-play,' still furnish a large contingent to our travellers and emigrants. We shall see presently that that was the physical type of the Germans who took part in the overthrow of the Roman empire, and in what their countrymen—it would be a little too bold to say 'their descendants,'—call the Wandering of Nations (*Völkswanderung*); and it would seem to have been also that of the leaders, at least, of the Gauls, who colonised Galatia and brought home the treasures of Greece and Italy to Toulouse; and it has at present more representatives among the Scandinavians and ourselves than among other peoples. In this way, and by the sparing of the tall youths in the Australian life of open air and abundant food, one might account for the prevalence of tall fair types among the colonial-born (the cornstalks), a prevalence which is generally asserted, and which accords with my own observation.

The direct influence of the kind or quality of food, apart from its sufficiency or insufficiency in quality, was a favourite point among the philosophers of the last century. The mild Hindu was supposed to owe his postulated mildness to a diet of rice, the Briton his martial ferocity to beef and beer. Some

of our modern vegetarians make use of this line of argument. It would be easy, of course, to cite countervailing instances. Thus the peaceful Eskimos are perforce and exclusively eaters of fish and flesh : while the Maoris, the Fijians, the Fāns, all ruthless cannibals, were the outcome of generations of habitual vegetarianism. Let us look rather at the physical side, which our high-flown ancestors rather neglected. Can the nature or abundance of food alter the colour or form of the individual ? and, if so, can the alterations be transmitted to his descendants ?

I have never happened to see this question of colour-change by food discussed ; though I have little doubt that it has been so. It is confidently stated that the plumage of canaries and some other singing-birds can be considerably altered, in the direction of red or orange, by feeding them with spicy stimulating food, red pepper and the like. Possibly the red colouring matter may be transmitted from the food to the feathers, or perhaps some change in the minute structure of the plumes may be brought about. Anyhow, I am informed that the beautiful colours of feathers are due more to the lamellar structural arrangement than to a deposit of pigment, which gives most of the colour to human skin and hair. Still, it seems quite possible that the production of pigment might be increased by a diet that mildly stimulated the organs which produce it. It is apparently lessened in wasting disease.

As to form, the probability is certainly greater. Robert Gordon Latham thought that both form and colour might in some degree depend on the geological structure of the habitat, and advised me, when I was collecting the materials for my work on the *Stature and Bulk of Man in the British Isles*, to pay particular attention to the carboniferous limestone. I was not successful in making out anything like what he expected : in a country like ours, where comparatively little of the food consumed is raised on the spot, the differences between the productions of several geological districts are not so likely to be operative as in other lands ; though the absence or abundance of lime and magnesia in the drinking-water might be equally so here as elsewhere. Durand de Gros finds physical

differences between the people of the calcareous and the granitic parts of the Rouergue, (in the south of France) which he cannot account for by difference of race: the dwellers in the former are, as one would expect, the better developed, while those in the Segalas, the granitic country, are smaller, inferior in form and complexion, less strong but more active. He thinks that he finds a difference even in the colour of the hair, the Segalas men being the darker; but that may depend on the seizure of the better land by the more vigorous and fairer race.

But may not the superabundance of lime in food and water tell also on the form of the skull? We know that in rickets the deficiency or malassimilation of lime leads, among other consequences, to deformity of the skull in the way of greater roundness. This is due to the thinness of the bones and to defective or postponed ossification of the sutures. On the other hand, *excess* of phosphate of lime in food seems to conduce to good physical development. Thus in Switzerland the most robust men are found in Nidwalden and Ticino, two cantons which agree in only one discoverable point, viz., the great consumption of cheese, the aliment most rich in phosphate of lime. 'Then,' says Schaaffhausen, 'may not a superabundance of phosphate of lime in the food, such as would be apt to occur among a wild uncivilised [hunting and pastoral?] people, lead to premature ossification of the cranial sutures, and thus to contraction of breadth and increase of length of skull, which is precisely what we find in the old long-headed denizens of Central Europe.' The only objection that I can see is that the Mongols and other races of Central Asia, who live very much in the manner contemplated, feeding on flesh and milk, have not long but broad and round skulls.

J. BEDDOE.

ART. IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (January, February, March).—The light literature, which has now become a feature of this periodical, is represented by a serial which runs through the three numbers for the quarter. It is a translation under the title 'Am Tiber,' of the novel by Mme. Grazia Pierantoni-Mancini, which, at its first appearance, was received with great interest, far beyond the limits of her own country, and was made by the *Times* the subject of an important article on the social position of women in Italy.—An article of considerable literary merit as well as of historical value is begun in the January and concluded in the February number. It is a history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, and bears the signature of Herr Dr. Paul Rohrbach.—In the first number, Herr Otto Harnack has a short paper entitled 'Poesie und Sittlichkeit,' in which, whilst admitting that in some cases, 'realism' is only another word for impropriety, he protests against the condemnation and exclusion of such realism as that, for example, of Ibsen.—In the same number, Herr Karl Rathgen gives a sketch—based on a late publication of the 'Verein für Socialpolitik'—of the commercial policy of the chief States of Europe during the last twenty years.—This is followed by an important military paper in which Dr. von Engelstedt considers the position and resources of Russia in the event of a war with Germany.—In the article which Professor von Lilienthal devotes to a sketch of the late revolution in Chili, the author lays all the blame on the morbid vanity of Balmaceda.—In a paper entitled 'Die Ueberfüllung im höheren Lehrfach' Herr Schoenflies enters into a minute examination of an official report, published last year, as to the overcrowding of the teaching profession. He contends that the data given in it are insufficient, and that the excess of over 2000 indicated in that report has not been accurately worked out. Another article in the same number sets forth and criticises the changes introduced into the German scholastic programme, by the ordinances of last year.—For the general reader one of the most interesting contributions in the three numbers is the article which Herr Strauch devotes to the Oberammergau passion-play. He does not enter into the controversy as to its propriety or impropriety, but sketches the development of the text and indicates various points where

revision of it seems to him desirable.—The March number contains an article which will interest many in this country. It bears the title ‘Religious Instruction in Elementary Schools.’ The conclusion arrived at by the writer, Herr Otto Pfeiderer, is that the Bible only should be taught; that the teaching of it should be obligatory; and that, like every other department, it should be under the supervision of the Government Inspectors.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (January, February, March).—A striking feature in the first number, is the total absence of those articles to which we have so often had occasion to refer as characteristic of the magazine. In the other parts, however, there are several as usual. Whilst Herr Paul Lindenberg takes us through the environs of Berlin, Herr Eduard Yetsche acts as our cicerone around the Austrian capital. In addition to this there is a descriptive and well-illustrated sketch of Aden.—Although entitled ‘Moorish Civilisation in the Middle Ages’ the paper contributed by Herr Gustav Diercks may also find a place in this section, considering it is accompanied by thirty-nine illustrations, of which the greater number are Algerian and Spanish views.—A biographical sketch of Metternich, accompanied by an excellent portrait appears in the January number.—The same month brings a most interesting paper in which Herr Ebermayer shows the utility of plants as purifiers of the air in dwelling-houses.—As interesting as it is erudite is the article in which Herr Gustav Wolzendorff shows in what manner the ancient Greeks provided for the treatment of those who were wounded in battle.—By far the most noticeable contribution to the third of the quarter's numbers is the excellent biographical and critical essay which Herr Münz devotes to Ferdinand Gregorovius, the historian of Rome.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (January, February, March).—The new quarter opens with the first instalment of a new novel by Theodor Fontane. It is entitled, ‘Frau Jenny Treibel oder wo sich Herz zum Herzen find't,’ and, so far as it has gone, is an admirable sketch of Berlin life.—Next to this comes a brilliant essay on Danton. It is written with as much fairness and impartiality as can well be expected considering the comparative proximity to our own time of the events which it records. If it does not attempt to extenuate the violence of which Danton was guilty, it sets down naught in malice, and does justice to the nobler parts of his character.—Shakespeare's historical plays, from Richard II. to Richard III., have afforded Professor W. Henke material for a masterly essay which no student of our dramatic literature sufficiently acquainted with

the German language should fail to read.—In the same number an anonymous contributor gives a charming sketch of the Highlands of northern Africa, where he spent what appears to have been a delightful twelve-month.—It is concluded in the February part, which also brings the essay on Danton to a close. It contains, further, three excellent biographical sketches, 'Frau von Olfers,' by Herman Grimm; 'Giovanni Battista de Rossi,' by Franz Xaver Kraus; and 'Gustav von Loeper,' by Erich Schmidt.—The last of the three numbers before us is one of the most interesting to which we have yet had occasion to call attention. One of the contributions to it will be read with interest by students of Shakespeare. Its title is 'Hamlet in Hamburg, 1625.' In it the author shows that in that year the German version of Hamlet was acted for the first time in Germany.—Theodor Heyse's translation, or rather imitation of Catullus has afforded Herr Friedländer an opportunity for bringing before the public a scholarly essay on the Latin poet.—Herr Wilhelm Fliesz devotes a paper to Influenza; and Professor Ernst Curtius has one entitled 'Architektur und Plastik.' A 'sick-nurse' contributes a most readable sketch of Mashonaland and South Africa.—In addition to these we find the concluding instalment of the historical study 'Ein Thronerbe als Diplomat,' by Herr Ludwig von Hirschfeld; 'Das Wachsthum der Energie in der geistigen und organischen Welt,' by Herr Carriere; and 'Die Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler in Italien.' The usual letters and reviews complete the contents of an exceptionally varied and excellent number.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 3, 1892).—All the articles in this number are of perhaps exceptional interest, and two of them at least will be certain to attract the attention of English readers. In the first, 'Die Idee des Reiches Gottes und ihre Anwendung in Dogmatik und Ethik' Professor Köstlin passes under review the conceptions of 'The Kingdom of God' of several prominent writers (German) on Dogmatics and Ethics, and the influence these have exercised on their general line of teaching. He then examines the New Testament idea of the kingdom. Nowhere there is there any precise definition of the phrase, and it is only by the patient investigation of the passages where it occurs that we can determine to any extent what Jesus and his followers indicated by it. Professor Köstlin first seeks to discover what form the idea of the kingdom took in the thoughts and hopes of the prophets and religious teachers of Israel prior to the times of Jesus. He next takes up the discourses and sayings of Jesus

himself, and then the teaching of the Apostles and early Christian writers preserved for us in the New Testament as a whole. In a final section he gives a brief summary of the results reached by this examination, and discusses the place which the idea of the kingdom has in relation to dogmatic and ethical systems.—Dr. J. Dräseke of Wandsbeck has a learned paper on Gregory of Nazianzum and his relation to Apollinarianism.—Dr. Carl Clemen follows with the first, and we are told, the smaller portion of a review of the present position of religious thought in Great Britain. ‘Der gegenwärtige Stand des Religiösen Denkens in Grossbritannien.’ The subject is a comprehensive one certainly, for the movements of religious thought among us are manifold, and Dr. Clemen has to content himself, of course, with a selection of the more prominent or pronounced of these, and has to summarise their salient features very briefly. But he has evidently paid considerable attention to the religious literature in which the various schools of thought have been endeavouring of late years to promulgate their views, and his estimates of us are characterised by great moderation and fairness.—Professor Kautzsch reviews at some length Professor Cheyne’s Bampton Lectures on ‘The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter.’ While the bulk of the review is taken up with a summary of the rich contents of the book, the reviewer pays a warm tribute to the scholarship of the author, and the spirit that everywhere pervades the work.

RUSSIA.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—Russian Opinion (September, October, November, and December, 1891).—These four Nos. contain in all 2,024 pages, and bear witness to the omnivorousness of the Russian reader. As we are in arrear with our notices, and have a double portion of numbers to glance at, the space meanwhile being, as usual, limited, we must be pardoned for being very brief and summary. ‘The Poison of Life’ is the unattractive title of a comedy in five acts by Mr. V. A. Kriloff.—‘Djalaleddin’ is a tale anonymously translated from the Armenian of Raffi.—‘The Brothers Gordeyeff’ is a short novel, complete in 68 pages, by Mr. D. N. Mamin-Sibiryak.—‘Zoroaster,’ a romance by Mr. Marion Crawford, is translated from the English by V. M. S., and given complete.—‘Poetry’ is represented by Messrs. V. L. Velichko, L. M. Medveydeff, L. S. Palmin, and D. S. Merezhkofski.—Mr. A. I. Ertel’s new domestic romance, entitled ‘Smeyna,’ a work of considerable length commenced in the January number, is now brought to a close.

—Mr. N. N. Nechahyeff contributes an article on 'Zemskie Finance.'—Mr. V. A. Goltseff, the writer of the 'Foreign Review,' furnishes a short monograph 'On the novels of Eliza Ozheshkoff,' a record of twenty-five years literary activity.—'The contemporary Great Russian in his marriage customs and family life' is a most instructive paper by Mr. L. P. Vesin.—'Serghe Timofeyevich Aksakoff,' a century's record of Pan-slavism, by Mr. P. N. Milyoukoff; 'On the Occasion of the Sixth Centenary of Swiss Federation' by I. N. K.; and a 'Letter on Literature' by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff, make excellent reading.—'Home Review' is full of national affairs, the more painful of which we in England are well posted in, though a Russian statement thereof naturally possesses an interest of its own. In the four numbers these domestic records fill 115 pages.—'Foreign Review,' by the above named Mr. Goltseff, discusses the visit of the French fleet to St. Petersburg; the coming of age of the present French Republic (1870-91); Austrian, German, and Italian affairs; a parallel between Parnell and Boulanger; Mr. Gladstone's Newcastle programme; the Italian Gallophobia; Savoy and Nice *versus* Alsace and Lorraine; Mr. John Morley and the *Fortnightly Review*; with other matters.—'Scientific Views' contain three papers by Mr. M. A. Menzbir on 'Contemporary Biological Problems,' and one by Mr. M. I. Broon on the 'Economic History of England during the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times.'—The 'French' and 'Central-Asian Exhibition at Moscow' form the subjects of two anonymous papers.—The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of 122 works, no one of which is in English, though a French translation of Professor Huxley's *Natural Sciences and Education* is included.—A novel by Mr. P. D. Boborykin, entitled 'Vows' (Obrechena), is given complete.—Ten 'Letters from Africa,' by Mr. Henry Senkevich, are translated from the Polish by V. M. L.—Three further 'Excursions in the domain of Russian epochs' complete the historico-literary travel of Mr. V. Th. Miller.—Mr. M. I. Venyoukoff keeps the Dark Continent to the fore by his thoughtful article, in nine chapters, 'On the Eastern Coast of Africa.'—Materials for a history of the last Kirghiz rising are furnished by Mr. N. A. Sereda under the title, 'History of the War on the Orenburg Frontier.'—A brief necrology of 'Ivan Alexandrovich Goncharoff' is furnished by V. A. G., most probably a brother of the deceased.—'On the National Supply of Provisions' is the title of a letter to the editor by Mr. A. Miropolski.—'Object-glass Method of Literary Criticism' is a review of Valerian Maikoff's book, *Critical Experiences*, by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff.—'Contemporary Art' records

as usual the doings of the Moscow theatres, which, in spite of national distress, still flourish.—‘In the Marshes and Forests’ (V’Toondrey e v’Taighey), a tale of Siberia as it is, by Mr. G. A. Machtet, is given complete.—‘Noormahal,’ an eastern story by Louis Halle, is translated from the French by V. M. R.—‘Travel in Tashkent and Samarkand’ is described by Count P. S. Oovarov.—‘General ideas of two centuries ago,’ by M., is a review of ‘Sociale Fragen vor zweihundert jarhen von Daniel Defoe, übersetzt von Hugo Fischer,’ Leipzig, 1890, having special reference to our old friend Robinson Crusoe.—‘Ambitious Projects of the United States [of America] in the Domain of Economic Politics,’ by Count L. A. Kamorofski, discusses problems of great interest to all manufacturing countries, and to Great Britain in particular.—‘Without Bread’ is a voluntary piece of communicated intelligence by Mr. Gleb I. Oospenski, which speaks for itself through the medium of its sad title.—‘Goncharoff,’ a literary tribute to the deceased writer, is furnished by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff.—‘A New Union of Russian Naturalists’ by V. pays homage to our ‘Association for the advancement of Science,’ founded in England in 1831.—‘Duty of the Community in relation to Domestic (Koostarnoy) Manufactures’ is a review by A. A. I. of a new book by Dr. Ziegler entitled *Die socialpolitischen Aufgaben auf dem Gebiete der Hausindustrie*, 1890.—‘A disciple and companion’ adds to the death-roll his master and friend, ‘L. Ph. Lavinon.’—‘Shadows,’ a fantasia by Mr. Vladimir Korolenko, is a relief to the reader amid such a mass of hard-headed matter.—‘General Economy of the City of Moscow for the Twenty-five years, 1863 to 1887,’ is discussed by Mr. V. I. Gregorieff.—‘What is to be done by us with our deep-seated maladies (dooshevno-bolnymi)?’ is a socio-political and not a spiritual disquisition, as its title, dooshevno, may seem to imply. It is a closely reasoned article of 36 pages by Mr. I. I. Bazhenoff, and does not scruple to hold up to imitation our sometimes despised Poor Law and Local Government Board administrations.—Professor N. Lyubovich reviews Mr. Kareyeff’s work, ‘Nature of the historical process, and of the rôle of individuals in History.’—Mr. E. I. Akhmatoff discourses on ‘Acquaintance with A. V. Droozhininym.’—‘Mirabeau’ is a review of Edmond Rousse’s work, Paris, 1891, by I. N. K.—Another article on ‘Literature and Life’ is furnished by Mr. N. K. Michaelofski.—‘Great Talent’ is the title given by the oft-quoted contributor, Mr. M. A. Protopopoff, to a review of the tenth volume of the collected works of N. S. Deyskoff.—‘What Cyphers Say’ is a statistical paper on Russian agricultural products by Mr. I. I. Petroonkevich.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL (January and February, 1892).—The thirteenth yearly issue of this bulky review opens with an historical paper by Mr. G. P. Danilefski, completed in the February number, entitled 'The Tsarevich Aleksie,' the unfortunate son of Peter I.—'Yad,' a Norwegian romance, by Alexander Killand, is commenced in a translation, chapters I. to VII., by E. R.—'Lyouboff,' a romance by Mr. I. N. Potapenko, is commenced in chapters I. to VI.—'Poetry' is represented by Messrs. D. S. Merezhofski and Th. A. Chervinski.—'The literary remains of Kavelin' (1847 to 1884), prefaced and annotated by Mr. D. A. Korsakoff, consists chiefly of letters, in which species of writing Russians excel.—Six more 'Letters from Africa,' by Mr. Henry Senkevich appear.—'Golodofka,' is a short tale by Mr. I. A. Saloff, complete.—'The Disciples of Garrick' is an historical romance from the French of Augustus Filon, commenced in a translation, chapters I. to IX., by Mr. V. M. Remezoff.—'The Founders (Rodonachalniki, or Family Stock) of English Radicalism,' is an historical paper by Mr. M. M. Kovalefski, which will run through three numbers.—'Lermontoff in the Country,' are popular readings in two numbers, by Mr. Kh. D. Alchefski.—Two further 'Letters on Literature' are furnished by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff.—'Reform of the English Universities in the Nineteenth Century,' by Mr. A. C. Okolski, bids fair to be an exhaustive record.—A review of Morrison's book, 'Macaulay,' is contributed by A. P.—Two further articles on 'Literature and Life' are furnished by Mr. N. K. Michaelofski.—'The Composition of the Representation in the Rural Assemblies of Russia,' is the subject of a fairly long article by Mr. V. O. Klyouchefski.—'Contemporary Art' is signed for the first time by Mr. M. N. Remezoff, and reviews the performances in the different theatres of Moscow. We notice among the dramas our old friend 'Cymbeline,' by Shakespeare, which the Russians prefer to name 'Imogene.'—'Foreign Review,' as usual, falls to the lot of Mr. V. A. Goltseff, who gives in the January number a retrospect of the whole of the past year, 1891.—'Home Review' is replete with domestic matters.—The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of 72 works, three of which are translated from the English: (1) *History of the English Nation*, by John Richard Green, translated by Mr. P. N. Nicolaieff, (2) *Don Juan*, by Lord Byron, translated by Mr. P. Koolish, (3) *Of the Russe Commonwealth*, by Giles Fletcher, translated by Mr. S. M. Seredonin.—'A Sworn Kozak,' is the title of a short novel dedicated to the standing Foreign Reviewer, Victor Alexandrovich Goltseff, and given complete, by Mr. G. A. Machtet.—'Law and Life' discusses on the practical Law of July 3rd,

1886, on the working of mills and factories, and is signed by 'Technical Engineer.'—'War or Peace?' is the ominous enquiry made by Count L. A. Kamarofski.—'Activity of the Land Bank of the Peasantry for the year 1890' is a dry statistical paper, though on an interesting subject, by Mr. M. Hertzenstein.—'Scientific Views' contain a paper by Mr. A. I. Voyeakoff on 'The Irrigation of the Distant [or Western] United States' of North America.

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (*Questions Philosophical and Psychological*) opens its tenth number with a discussion on the old question, the 'Metaphysics of the Future,' founded on the work of A. Fouillée, *L'avenir de la Métaphysique fondée sur l'expérience* (Paris, 1889). This seems following in the tracks of Kant in his prolegomena to all future metaphysic, yet, as might be expected from the wording of the thesis, the results of the inquiry differ much from those of Kant. Kant sought the *à priori* forms of thought, and would determine the future of metaphysics from these. Fouillée, whom the author of this article, M. Vvedenski, has followed, does not deny the existence of formal or *à priori* elements in our knowledge as against Kant, but he seeks to turn Kant's position by questioning the correctness of the critical analysis of Reason and its laws as presented by Kant. Granted that we know forms of being *à priori*, it is admitted that there is a rational part in metaphysics, which can be determined with complete fulness and accuracy. But even with such a supposition, why exclude from metaphysics its general contents as a science, and the general results of experience which are necessary for a full presentation of the world? If metaphysics be a study of the world, with the purpose of forming a possibly adequate conception of it, it is insufficient to present for this its universal form; it ought to be supplemented by presenting the contents of this form by giving the systematized results of experience. In a word, metaphysics ought to be an analysis from the root, and a corresponding synthesis of experience, with all its contents. Then, on the other side, if it can be shown that the so-called *à priori* forms of experience are in reality only the generalized forms of experience, its highest product and the last results of its evolution! Thus M. Fouillée shows Kant's analysis to be one-sided. It is shown, moreover, that man is greatly dependent on his physical constitution, his brain, and the Nature by which he is surrounded. Hence he finds that metaphysics ought to contain in itself, to be complete, (1) a cosmology or philosophy of the sciences, (2) a critique of knowledge, (3) the doctrine as to experience. So he comes to

the method of metaphysics which should contain an accurate reflex of the contents of experience. This should lead to a unity so as to present the conception of the world in its laws and relations. Thus he arrives at the final results, which he names the 'moral application of metaphysical Ideas,' the 'mental theory concerning the signification of the world and life.'—The second article is by M. Tchicherin, a continuation of the 'Positive Philosophy and the unity of Science,' in its second part, which deals with Mathematics in its two-fold division of abstract and concrete. The first has as its subject, Number, in its broad sense on the determination of abstract magnitudes, otherwise, Arithmetic, Algebra, the Differential and Integral Calculus. The second includes Geometry and Theoretical Mechanics. The second branch arises out of, or is founded on, the first, and presents an application of numbers in the known order of phenomena. The first, on the contrary, has the signification of a purely logical, instrumental science, manifesting only a splendid extension of natural logic. The disciples of Comte did not follow him in this division. Differing from their master in his identification of logic with mathematics in the latest developments of his doctrines. Littré, as was remarked in the former part, held mathematical axioms to be determined nowise other than as drawn from the experience of facts apprehended without any introductory knowledge. The author quotes at length the researches of Mill in his *Logic* on this question.—The paper which succeeds this is an examination of the Pessimism of Leopardi, the Italian poet, (1798-1837) by M. M. Stein. The article contains a life of the self-taught poet, philologist and philosopher, who, burdened by a sickly and scrofulous temperament, haunted his father's library from 9 to 17 years of age to such purpose that his imitation of the Greek poets were mistaken for long lost gems recovered from the antique, and he was offered by Niebuhr the chair of Italian literature in Berlin. After manifold sufferings and unhappinesses, arising partly from his sickness and sickly temperament, partly from the selfishness of his parents, Leopardi found at length truly sympathetic friends and protectors in the historian Antonio Ranieri and his sister Paola, through whose friendship and loving care, his spirit, if not his body, was brought into a more healthy condition. Struck suddenly by cholera, then epidemic in Naples, he passed away without suffering in the arms of his friends, crying like Goethe, 'Ci vedo piu poco, apri quella finestra; fammi veder la luce'—'Now I see badly, open the window, let me see the light.'—On this follows a revision of Leopardi's social and philosophical views, which, however, he has thrown out, rather in the form of epi-

gram than that of sustained thought, and the results were that remaining on the ground of unbelief, he came to no settled conclusion.—The continuation of Prince Eugenie Trubetskoi's article 'On the Philosophy of a Christian Theocracy in the Fifth Century.' The author notices three great historical events as marking out the limits of the literary activity of the great Father of the West, the first being the union of the eastern and western halves of the empire under Theodosius I., also called 'the Great.' The second event was the capture of Rome by the Goths under Alaric, and the third and final event was the conquest of Africa by the Vandals, shortly before the death of St. Augustine. It is shown that these events were not casual, as regards the apologetic activity of Augustine. The fall of secular Rome before the Goths was needful to her re-organization as the city of the Pontiffs, who were to be the heads of that church which Augustine imaged forth in his greatest work, the *Civitas Dei*. The Christian Theocracy, which our author deals with, is the great ideal which floated before the mental perspective of St. Augustine.—The concluding article of the general part of the 'Questions' is by M. Mensbir, the Professor of Comparative Anatomy in Moscow University, and, as we learn from a preliminary note, contains a conception of the world, diametrically opposed to the philosophico-metaphysical, which is the standpoint of the majority of the contributors to our 'Questions.' The first question considered by our author is the well-known 'Man's place in Nature;' his relation to his environment; but as connected necessarily with this, what is Nature itself, of which man is such a small part? and what is the past of our world, and its future, and our own? M. Mensbir begins by giving the opinion of Empedocles and the Atomists, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Thence he descends to Descartes, Leibnitz, Bacon, Locke, and Kant; but ends by referring to the school of natural philosophers as those to whom he seems to incline, but for whose views we must wait until the continuation of his article.—To this article succeeds the special division of the journal, containing Professor's Grote's 'Fundamental Moments in the Development of Modern Philosophy,' a section of M. Gilaroff-Platonoff's papers on the 'Ontology of Hegel,' a paper on Helmholtz, as philosopher and psychologist, which is followed by the usual reviews of books and bibliography.

ITALY.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Jan. 1, 1892).—The Duchess Teresa Ravaschieri commences in this number a biographical

sketch of the story of the late Madame Augustus Craven, dwelling upon the period of her life at Naples, her love for her future husband, the obstacles to their union because of their difference of faith, and their ultimate marriage on the 28th August, 1834. One foresees in this portion of the sketch, which is to be continued, how the Duchess will glory in the later conversions of Augustus Craven to the Roman Catholic faith.—E. Castagnola continues his account of 'Modern Roman Poets,' taking for this instalment's theme 'Ignazio Ciampi.'—F. Capillo contributes a short article on 'Modern Italian Criticism, and inveighs against the critics.—The third part of the *Exameron* is continued in this and following numbers.—Follow the speech delivered in the Italian Parliament by the Deputy Prinetti on Ecclesiastical Politics; and a lecture given by Professor Panzacchi, at Penta, in celebration of the centenary of Quercino.—The 'Monthly Review of Foreign Literature' notices many English books. E. A. Freeman's *History of Sicily* is favourably criticised, though the reviewer says that he shivers when he thinks how many large volumes will be needed to complete the work. Of Cyfaill's *Selections from the Canzoniere of Francesco Petrarck*, the critic says that the translator has not taken the pains to learn the metre of Petrarch, and that the English language can never reproduce the almost sensual sweetness of his form. He thinks the translations into blank verse the most successful, and quotes the 'Triumph of Death.' N. H. Thompson's translation of Guicciardin's *Counsels and Reflections* is praised as excellent, and great praise is also awarded to Sir Henry Layard's *Despatches of Michele Suriano and Mark Antonio Barbaro*.—Cardinal Lavigerie and the French Republic is reviewed in this and following numbers.—(January 16).—R. Ferrini has an article on the experiments in electrical force at Frankfort.—Another instalment of Duchess Ravaschiere's paper on Madame Craven affords a glimpse of the latter's correspondence and journals, tracing the family story down to the death of Albert, the husband of Madame Craven's sister, Alessandrina.—Signor Bonghi, in this and subsequent numbers, remarks on the ecclesiastical discussions of the last month. He says that only three Italian statesmen have understood the religious and ecclesiastical questions—Cavour, Ricasoli, and Minghetti. Bonghi calls the end of our century a very strange one, showing everywhere the contrasts that kill, and nowhere the harmony that vivifies. The agreement which all desire between thought and right is always accomplished by violence.—C. Pozzoni contributes a long and carefully considered article on 'The Economical Balance of Italy.'

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Feb. 1).—A. C. Tonoi writes an appreciative criticism on Father Didon's *Jesus Christ*.—‘Life for Life’ is a monograph on the late missionary, Giovanni Mazzuconi.—Follows a translation of Edmond Demolin's important essay on ‘Socialism and Social Science,’ which was published simultaneously in many European reviews.—February 16.—F. A. Foberti describes Moltke's *History of the Franco-German War*.—Here is a reprint of a lecture on ‘The Progress of Science,’ in which it is opined that science and democracy cannot be realised until they have restored faith to mankind.—V. de Vit contributes chronological notes on the year of the death of Herod the Great, in relation to the first year of the vulgar era.—March 1.—A. Brunialti takes up the subject of woman in common law. He concludes his article in the following words: ‘This rapid excursion through the laws shows that the struggle entered on in favour of the so-called political emancipation of woman is far from arriving at any practical result beyond the limits which good sense and experience point out as insuperable. In America sex prevents no person from entering any profession or vocation, and Bryce tells us that popular sentiment aims at rendering professional or industrial careers less difficult of attainment for women. But when it comes to votes, and especially political votes, even young America rebels against the reformers. Old Europe limits herself to shaking the dust from her old codices, and suppressing the perpetual guardianship of women, securing to them the free disposition of their property, and permitting them some action in the communal interests, and in other non-political institutions. The doors of the universities are opened to women; professions and employments once prohibited are now accessible to them. For more than twenty years, especially in England and the United States, legislation has been correcting the errors of the old civil laws, and in other States there remains little to do for women to be perfectly equal to men, not only in the field of private right, but in that of public right. Yet all agree in asserting that no much further step than this will be made. The new Italian laws that have permitted women to act in scholastic councils and the administration of charitable institutions, mark a progress which may be continued in the more or less near future even in other branches of local action; but we must not hope to see women taking part in the government of large cities, in the magistrature, in the State-government, or even in political constituencies. The reasons alleged by the champions of woman's right, which were numerous and convincing, did not avail to determine any really important legislation, and the few laws of which we hear are

quite contrary to a position which, at least in Italy, the struggle to obtain would never have succeeded in agitating public opinion or in moving those who ought to take the greatest interest in the question, that is, the women themselves. We can follow the reformers who advocate woman's right to a certain extent, but we cannot go beyond the limits already arrived at if we desire the happiness and well-being of what is dear to us.—There are notices of August Carlier's book on *America* by R. Mazzei, and of A. V. Vecchi's *General History of the Navy* by V. D. Arisbo.—'Noemi and Rut' is a story by L. Muratore.—C. Fortebracci writes on Carducci's latest odes, and there is a letter from Abbé Stoppani to the Pope, which was written in 1885.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (March 16th).—After a paper by C. Segré on 'Torquato Tasso in the mind of Goethe and in History,' we have in this number the conclusion of 'The Crimean Expedition,' from the Diary of a De Saint-Pierre. Among many observations on the English, we quote the following: 'Kadi-Koi, Sunday, February 2, 1856. The English observe holy days better than we do. I went to an artillery officer, as agreed upon, to take my English lesson in exchange for one in Italian, but he postponed it because it was Sunday, as their religion prohibits the English from working on that day. He did well; but it is a pity that their soldiers do nothing on that day but get drunk.' 'February 20,' the present war will be a good lesson for the English if they are persuaded thereby that during a campaign it is needful that a soldier should take with him only what is needful, doing without all superfluities, so that he can carry everything on his person, and avoid the useless encumbrance of baggage.' 'February 24th, the English troops are finer than can be imagined in all that concerns behaviour and capacity, although there are very many young soldiers in the ranks. The Scotch are also splendid troops.' 'March 24th, the races took place this morning and were magnificent. Words cannot describe the effect of the plain bordered by the Cernaia, and the surrounding hills, occupied by the French camp. It was a meeting of more than a hundred thousand men, almost all military belonging to the allied armies; who, on foot or on horseback, crossed the plain, in every direction, on which a great battle had been fought and won; and who all, at intervals, rauced themselves in a twinkling in a line to let the racers pass. A few Russians could be seen on the right bank of the Cernaia, in spite of the warning sent to General Luders.' 'April 17th, to-day we witnessed a spectacle, the like of which we shall probably never see again. I speak of the review of the French and English troops in

honour of General Luders. The French stood in order of battle on the elevated plain which extends from St. George to Kamiesch. General Luders arrived accompanied by a numerous suite. This cortege of all the generals in chief, increased by many amateurs who had joined them, formed a group of a thousand horsemen, presenting the most brilliant and varied aspect. General Luders is a fine type of soldier, and looks rather more than sixty years of age. He sits his horse well in spite of his years; wears a Prussian helmet. The French present were said to number 65,000; the English 30,000. As I passed in front of the rifles, I made the acquaintance of the brother of Lord Russell, who is a major in that corps.' In his notes on the return home the general writes: 'On sea, ten miles from Messina, May 4th, 1856. The sight of the two coasts of the Straits cheered us all up, for at last it was Italian ground that we saw after a year's absence; and a mother is always beautiful in the eyes of her children.' The Diary, as far as its publication in this magazine goes, ends at Spezzia, on the 9th May, 1856, though the general continued it till the 3rd June of the same year.—The Correspondence of Madame Craven's Family, by Duchess Ravaschieri, is continued; most of the letters in this instalment, being those written by her sisters.—Follows, 'A Poetess of Cortona,' By C. Fortebracci; a notice of the poems of the Marchioness Teresa Venuti.—Cardinal Lavigerie and the French Republic is continued.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Jan. 1).—In an article on 'Labour Accidents,' Signor G. Boccardo first briefly reviews the causes that awakened the interests of the public and legislators in the state of the working classes, and then enumerates the various institutions to which that interest gave birth. He gives innumerable statistics concerning the most dangerous industries, the persons to whose negligence accidents are attributed, the unavoidable causes, etc. He concludes by opining that the probability of serious accidents in industrial occupations is not as great as generally supposed. He denies that modern commercial undertakings have increased danger, and declares that all danger can be diminished by technical arrangements and proper rules. The greater number of accidents are caused by the carelessness of the workmen themselves. Signor Boccardi then describes the German system (which was afterwards imitated by other European States) of obligatory insurance.—Signor Bonghi contributes a paper on the politics of 1891, casting a rapid glance at European politics in general, and then noticing the most important events in each State—events

which, in England, have consolidated Conservative politics, in France have rendered more secure the Republican institutions, in Germany damaged the economical conditions, and so on, dwelling more at length on Italian affairs, and rejoicing in the new ministry, which he thinks will put an end to the former careless financial policy.—Signor Venturi, in an article on 'Art,' deplors the loss in Italy of a sense of true art, of a feeling for colour, harmony, and proportion. He blames the disorder obtaining in the precious national galleries, many of which are kept in very inadequate localities, are without catalogues, and are badly protected against dirt, decay, and other causes of deterioration. Private collections are becoming dispersed, and many provinces are without any museum at all. He appeals to the Government to reform all this, and to impose on all Italy the Tuscan law, that no public work of art exposed to public view in or on the façades of private edifices shall be permitted to be removed.—After a romance, 'First Love,' by C. Rovetta, and a review of F. Martini's 'In Italian Africa,' by E. Nencione, G. Boglietti has a paper on 'The Franco-Russian Alliance under the First Empire;' and Professor Brizio writes on 'The Origin of the Etruscans,' whom he believes to have come to Italy from Asia, bringing with them the principles of an already developed social state, with the custom of inhabiting cities rendered impregnable by extremely solid walls.—(Jan. 16).—E. Masi contributes a description of the year 1799 in Tuscany, the events of which he enters into with much fulness.—Professor Mosso criticises the reforms which are now taking place in gymnastics in Italy. He considers athletic exercises rather noxious than salutary, because, while muscular force develops rapidly during their use, the general robustness of the human frame diminishes. He reminds his readers that *gymnastica ad sanitatem periculosa est*, and that modern physicans note that consumption is frequent among professional acrobats. Professor Mosso wishes that the natural and simple Swedish exercises should be introduced into Italy, and describes their character, comparing them favourably with those used in Germany.—T. Casini has a learned article on 'The Last Refuge of Dante Alighieri,' the originality of which consists in the multitude of arguments with which he supports his thesis. He discusses the question as to the place from which Dante went to Ravenna, his—'last refuge,'—and decides in favour of Lucca, or at least some place in Tuscany. He does not believe that Dante was Professor of Rhetoric at Ravenna, for he denies the existence of a University there in the 14th century. He believes that Dante wrote the last cantos of the Divine Comedy in

Ravenna, and that the Embassy, sent by the Commune of Ravenna to Venice, in which Dante took part, occurred in July 1321. He closes his paper by noting that, soon after Dante returned from his expedition, he died during the night of the 13th September, 1321.—The Deputy Ferraris criticises *National Finance and Economy*, praising Luzzatti's proposition to unite the national accounts in one, and declares that a rigorous adjustment of the Public Exchequer and the National Debt is above all necessary. He says that the National Exchequer, instead of being the 'banker of the State,' has become a refuge for the annual deficit. The national debt, on the 30th January next, will amount to 483 millions and a half. He thinks that four grand reforms should be seriously prepared for; 1st, The undertaking of a severe popular education, subsidized with the necessary financial means; 2nd, The reduction of the Corn Laws; 3rd, the gradual reduction of the price of salt; 4th, The abolition of the Communal Duty on articles of consumption, by substituting taxes that will weigh less on the labouring classes. This would be true 'Social Legislation.'—G. Rovetti's romance is continued.—G. A. Biacci writes on 'Mozart,' and P. Mantegazza on 'The Science of the Stage.'—Some reviews close the number.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (February 1st).—In an article on 'Military Questions,' Nicola Marsella draws comparisons between the Italian, Austrian and French armies, and their different systems.—Arturo Graf, writing on 'Othello's Jealousy,' argues that Othello was not jealous by nature, and that this is confirmed by what Desdemona says of him, but that it was the very frankness and unsuspectingness of his character that led him to accept without criticism, and to act on, the instigations of Iago.—G. Cantal Amessa contributes an article on 'Athletics and Critics.'—A. Chiaperelli writes a critical description of the apology of Aristides, as edited by J. Rendel Harris in *Texts and Studies*.—A. Soria gives an account of Emile Lavelleye and his works.—A. G. Barrili enlivens this number by a one-act comedy in verse, entitled 'La Lima.'—G. Biagi briefly reviews G. Chiafini's book, *The Loves of Ugo Foscolo in his Letters*.—The Bibliographical bulletin praises the publications of the Dante Society in Cambridge.—(February 16th).—This number begins with a page from Colonel Baratieri's Diary, relating his experiences in the country of the Black Marryas in Ethiopia, never before visited by an European—follows 'Administrative Decentralisation,' by the Italian Deputy, P. Bertolini.—Under the title of 'A New American Poetess,' the Italian critic, E. Nencione writes

with enthusiasm about the lyric poetry of Cora Fabbri, who died at the early age of twenty, last autumn, at San Remo, and who loved, and lived for some years in Italy, her father's native country.—An article worthy of attention is a statistical one by G. Boccardo, in which he makes a careful examination of Herr Berbel's book on *Women and Socialism*, declaring that Bebel's idea of social life would take us back to the social order which preceded the *Stone Age*, of which the remains can still be seen in Africa and Sumatra.—O. Z. Biancho has an instructive paper on the star 'Sirius.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 1).—G. Boglietti, under the title of 'William II. and his kingdom,' collects all the most important facts, from recently published German books, of the reign of the present German Emperor.—G. Negri writes on the Deluge as illustrated in the Baylonian Legends.—C. Corsi contributes a monograph on Prince Eugene of Savoy, founded on the book *Feldzuge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen*.—'Rossini at Home,' by F. Casini, is compiled partly from documents contained in the Public Archives at Pesaro, and partly from papers in the Oliverian Library.—Professor Brizzio's 'Account of the Origin of the Etruscans is continued.—(March 16)—Colonel Baratieri, Governor of Eritrea, contributes some interesting notes on 'The Habab Tribes in Abyssinia.'—A. J. de Johannis writes on the question of 'Population and the Distribution of Wealth.'—C. Ricci gives a short but attractive historical description of the towns of San Marino and San Leo in the Apennines.—A valuable paper is one on the 'National Railways and the Defence of the Kingdom,' by G. Gorian.—The number closes with another short paper on Rossini, by C. A. Biaggi.

THE REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, (January 1st, 16th: February 1st, 16th: March 1st).—Contain—Sincere Political Elections, by A. Brunialti.—The Origin of Great American Fortunes, by G. B. Bolietti.—The Principles of Non-Intervention and its Juridical Foundation, by I. Corrado.—The New Treaties of Commerce, by R. Della Volta.—The Scientific Notion of the Administrative *Referendum*, by E. Coppi.—The Distribution of Social Riches, by A. Ferrera, continued in next number.—The Protection of Agriculture, by the Editor.—Magistrates in Parliamentary Constituencies, by X.—The Harm of Protective Laws in Italy, by V. Pareti.—Economy and Instruction, by B. Cato.—The Evolution of Popular Schools in France, by G. Fanti.—The Parliamentary Situation, by the Editor.—Warlike Politics and the Forms of Government, by L. Palma.—

On the Confines of Statistics, by G. P. Salvione.—The University, by A. Gotti.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO, 4, 1891.—Contains the continuation of G. A. Venturi's account of the controversy between the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany and Bishop Scipione Dei Ricci with the Roman Court; and a paper on three inedited documents relative to the Council of Trent, By F. Cerosoli.

IL GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANA; (Year ix., Number 3).—F. De Simone-Bruwer gives a summary of two scenes from comedies of the 17th century; and E. Picardi writes on some hitherto unknown interpolations in the text of Firenzuola's 'Golden Ass.'—G. Salvocozzo notices a new publication by Sabbadini, of the biography of Giovanni Aurispa, the learned humourist who had so much success at Constantinople in the discovery of precious codexes; and G. S. Sciponi discusses the date of Leon Battista Alberti's birth, fixing it at 1406 or 1407.—F. Flamini and F. Novati write respectively on the codexes of Giovan Maria Filelfo, and on the poems written in the 14th century on the 'Nature of Fruit.'—In the Biographical Bulletin, C. R. notices T. F. Crane's Book, '*Exempla* or Illustrative Stories from the *Sermones Vulgares* of Jacques de Vitry.'

IL NUOVO ARCHIVIO VENETO, (1, 2).—G. Bigoni publishes two letters from Girolamo Tomich to Francesco Apostoli, A. Neapolitan adventurer and dramatist of the 18th century.—G. Ferro contributes 'Linguistic Curiosities,' among which is a short document of the 13th century.—C. Cipolla, in his 'Foreign Publications on the Mediæval History of Italy,' treats also of the books about literary history, and dwells at length on De Nolhai's book on Petrarch's 'De Viris.'—G. Montuolo writes of a poem by the Ducal Chancellor Tanti, addressed to Albertino Musato; and T. Wiel gives a Chronological catalogue of the operas represented in Venice in the 17th century.—A. Favaro writes on the correspondence of Antonio Riccobona and the Procurator Paruta, about Venetian History, publishing many of the letters in full.

STUDII DI FILOLOGIA ROMANZA (No. 15).—In a paper by R. A. Restori on the collection in the Palatine-Parma Library, the writer notices two rich collections of Spanish comedies, taken to Parma by Philip, son of Philip V., in 1784; one being the works of Lopez de Vega, and the other of various authors. The latter collection consists of eighty-seven volumes, partly printed, partly manuscript. There are more than eight hundred dramas, of which about a hundred and fifty are by anonymous authors. Restori believes that the Palatine collection will add about eleven

new names to the list of Spanish comedy-writers. There are many among them of whom there has never been any notice before. Several are the original MSS., while others are copies from dictation. The collection of Lopez de Vega's comedies comprehends more than four hundred, divided into forty-seven volumes, and Restori is making copies for the Spanish Academy, which has undertaken to publish all the works of Lopez. It is the first time that such a wealth of Spanish texts, derived from an Italian library, will have been illustrated, and it is hoped that Restori's example will be followed by others.

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (January).—The first paper is a lecture on 'The Palæontology of the mind,' which was given by Professor T. Vignoli at the Milan Literary Academy.—F. Rizzati contributes a paper on the 'Genius of the Nineteenth Century,' which he characterises as a scientifico-industrial genius, which is being more and more successful in dominating natural forces.—F. Momigliano commences an 'Account of the Adventures of Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy.'—'Naples Thirty Years Ago,' is a translation of a letter written by a Frenchman on the 2nd March 1861, just after King *Franceschiello* had fled to Gaeta, and the city was applauding Garibaldi's achievements. Paolo Lambroso writes a paper on 'Love among Children,' which is a collection of examples of this passion seen in children, who almost all afterwards became illustrious men and women, but who were also almost all physically unhealthy. A normal child, the writer thinks, has no affection except for itself.—'A few notes on German Socialism' is a paper by O. Gnocchi-Viani, which Socialism he calls principally scientific and non-utopian; and, besides, exclusively economical.—G. C. writes on 'Popular Operative Banks,' describing their rise in Germany and spread in Europe.

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (February).—'Civilisation and Liberty,' by G. Rosa, who argues that the development of humanity is a natural necessity which contributes movement to all elements of social life, and that finally the liberty of this movement will triumph over all arbitrary or violent coercion.—G. Sangiorgio writes on 'Holland.'—In a paper on 'Sicilian Poetesses,' A. Loforte Randi says that women had a great part in the most famous maladies of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, viz., the Petrarchism of the former and the Arcadism of the latter, for both produced an extraordinary number of poetesses, or rather of scribblers of verse, among whom very few were afterwards noticed. Sicily, although it was then a small China, whose walls were the sea, and whose in-

habitants, like the Chinese, lived on native products, did not fail to suffer from the general epidemic. In every city academies arose, the greater portion of whose members were women. At the Academy of the *Ereini* in Palermo, Anna Maria Lei Castelli was greatly honoured. Another noble lady, Girolama L. Orfice, was member of no less than five academies. She wrote a poem 'Woman on Parnassus,' published in 1723. Pellegra Bongiovanni was another Sicilian poetess, and also celebrated as a musician and painter. She published in Rome her 'Reply, under the name of Madonna Laura, to the Rhymes of Petrarch' in 1762. A 'gentle' philosopher was Anna Gentile of the Academy *Galante* of Palermo. She also translated a drama of Voltaire. Two poetesses wrote in the dialect in 1734, they were Genevieveffia Bisso, and Dorotea Guillon, who replied to a book by a chemist which described woman as the cause of all sin.—In 'The Crimes of Justice Sanctioned by the Penal Code,' Giuseppe Casazza inveighs against both the new positive school and the classical school. He says that the first takes for its object of investigation the delinquent; while the other looks exclusively at the crime.—Dr. Pilo writes on the 'Reform of Classic Instruction,' making several propositions for the dividing of classes, etc.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (Year 16th, No. 4).—We have here the continuation of 'Ricciardo Filangiere in the time of Frederick II., Conrad and Manfred,' by G. del Guidice, and of N. Faraglia's on 'The Normans and Swedes in the Abruzzi.—The list of churches and chapels to be destroyed in Naples, and their history is also continued.—B. Capasso has a paper on the difficult question of the topography of Naples in the eleventh century, and G. Racioppi contributes a chronological account of the capitulation of Atell in the fifteenth century.

THE POSITIVE SCHOOL (January).—L. Bianchi writes on the 'Brain and the Nervous System,' comparing their evolutions, governing thought, with the chemical laws that govern material life.—F. Puglia argues on 'The Right of Repression.'—R. Garofolo contributes 'New studies on the reparations owed to the Victims of crime.'

REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (March 1 and 16).—'The Parliamentary Situation,' by the Editor.—'Military Policy and form of Government,' by Luigi Palma, who argues that war cannot be justly considered the outcome of despotic or monarchical governments, but that, on the contrary, a king who is not elected by a party originating in popular passions,

who is allied by blood and many circumstances to other dynasties, and who must principally consider the permanent interests of his people, will generally be in a better condition to moderate the passions of his subjects than a republic, whose policy is conducted by the people themselves through their representatives.—‘The Future Conclave,’ by D. Zanichelli.—‘Records and Impressions of Aurelio Saffi,’ by L. Rossi.—‘On the Borders of Statistics,’ by G. B. Salvione.—‘The University,’ by A. Cotti.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1891).—In this number M. Etienne Aymonier gives the continuation and conclusion of his minute and interesting description of the Tchama and their religions. The paper was read by him at one of the meetings of the Oriental Congress which met in London in the beginning of September last. The first part of it appeared in the previous number of this *Revue*, and was devoted to the chequered history of the tribes in the Tchampa,—a district lying south of Canton,—and to the social and religious orders and arrangements under which they live, the deities they worship, the castes into which they are divided and the general rites of worship in practice among them. Here M. Aymonier describes their funeral customs and agricultural labours, and the religious ceremonies connected with them. The description is very minute, as M. Aymonier was long resident among the tribes, and had ample opportunities of making himself acquainted with their customs and the religious beliefs on which they are based. The population of the Tchampa is now a very mixed one, and the religious beliefs and customs are consequently of a curiously mixed and heterogeneous character. There is a very considerable Mohammedan element which has largely influenced, and has also been largely influenced by, the primitive heathenism of the aborigines. M. Aymonier describes both very fully and so furnishes us with a new chapter of religious history—or a chapter at least that has not been given by any other European writer.—M. J. Deramy, under the title of ‘les Inscriptions d'Adoulis et d'Axoum,’ furnishes us with a valuable study of several inscriptions copied so long ago as 520 A.D. by an Alexandrian merchant, Cosmas Indicopleustes. They were copied from marble and basalt blocks carried to and deposited in Adulis, a town in the bay called Annesley Bay on the Red Sea above the 15 degree of latitude. These blocks have perished, but the copies of the inscriptions on them made by the Alexan-

drian merchant were recovered and published by Leo Allatius in 1631, and it is to these copies that M. Derany now invites the attention of scholars, and to the notes and descriptions that accompany them, and the literature to which they have given rise.—M. J. Darmesteter is publishing through the Musée Guimet a new translation of the Avesta with numerous notes and appendices. One of these latter is given in this number of the *Revue*, in which the translator treats of the Hvaetvadatha or marriage between blood relations among the Parsis.—M. Amelineau has a few words to say—and they are highly amusing—regarding an attempt on the part of a German 'named Schmidt' to depreciate the writer in the pages of the *Gelehrte Anzeigen* of Göttingen.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1892).—M. G. Maspero, under the title 'Sur l'Enneade—Bulletin Critique de la Religion Egyptienne,' gives a critical summary of two recently published works on the religion of ancient Egypt, viz., Dr. A. Wiedemann's *Die Religion der alten Ägypter*, and Herr Victor von Strauss und Torney's *Der altägyptische Götterglaube*. The largest part of the article, however, is devoted to the development of Professor Maspero's own views as to the theology or mythology of Egypt. The latter of the two named works attempts to find an explanation of the mythical elements in the religious teaching of the priests, but our author is not altogether satisfied with it, and presents here what he considers a better. The starting point with both is the division by the early theologians of Egypt of the deities into three groups of nine, hence the name 'enneade.' The first group or series of nine regulated the destiny of man during life and after death; the second charged themselves with superintending the relationship of men with each other and with the gods, while the third's special care was over the fortunes of men after death. This division was not only a theological idea, it formed the framework of the fabulous history of Egypt, and corresponded to the three divine dynasties which the theologians of Egypt placed at the origin of things.—M. Pierre, Paris, furnishes next his 'Bulletin Archéologique de la Religion Grecque,' in which he gives a brief account of the discoveries made during last year by the various archæological societies which are carrying on excavation works at different points in Greece.—M. Paul Regnaud contributes one more of his learned studies as to Sanscrit terms. Here it is the term *ṛaddha*, which is of frequent occurrence in the Vedas, that engages his pen.—A summary and criticism of Mr. J. G. Fraser's work, *The Golden Bough*, follows, and is contributed by M. L. Maril-

lier. He is somewhat severe on what he describes as Mr. Fraser's lack of arrangement and want of proportion in his treatment of several points in his book, but considers it as a most valuable storehouse of information on the subject with which it deals.—M. J. Reville has a short *In Memoriam* article on Abraham Kuenen.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (January, February, March).—One of the most important contributions to these numbers is the study which M. Dunan entitles 'The Problem of Life.' The two instalments in the January and February numbers do not, however, conclude it, and it is not yet possible to indicate the author's general conclusions.—In the January number there is a very interesting paper, in which M. B. Perez points out some of the weak points in the theory which looks upon pessimism as a morbid phenomenon.—A paper by M. Binet examines into the causes which produce the *mouvement de manège*, that is, the circular movement which can be artificially called forth by a lesion of their ganglions.—In both these numbers M. Guardia devotes articles to the Spanish philosophers of Cuba.—Interesting to the specialist and the general reader alike is the article 'Hypnotisme et Criminalité,' which bears the signature of Dr. Liégeois. In it the author adduces a great number of instances in support of his theory that crimes may be committed under the influence of hypnotic suggestion. Startling as they are, it is reassuring that Dr. Liégeois himself admits that such absolute helplessness as his theory asserts can be produced in comparatively few persons; he gives the proportion at four per cent.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January, February, March).—There are in the two January numbers two articles which appeal very particularly to readers in this country. The first of them, which is a further instalment of a series of papers on Burmah, points out what the author considers the utter insufficiency of civil servants. The other, which bears the signature of M. Augustin Filon, is a sketch and appreciation of Mr. Parnell's career. The spirit in which it is written may be understood from these concluding words: 'When Parnell was there, everything was possible. A statesman far more than an orator, he would have governed his country as he governed his party. The magic of his will held together in forced and almost supernatural cohesion these conflicting and refractory elements. The English acknowledged his authority because he belonged to their own race: he ruled the Irish because he was not one of themselves. Parnell dead, Ireland falls back to dust, and England returns to her indifference. She awakens,

and perceives that she has given fifteen years to the Irish nightmare, fifteen years which have been lost, or nearly so, for social progress. Things resume their old course, historical evolution begins again. A place remains empty for ever, for Parnell has too many successors ever to be replaced.'—In the same number there is a paper in which Dr. Jules Rochard sets forth the evils which result from the abuse of tobacco.—Admiral Jurien de la Gravière continues his admirable historical study; and M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé reviews some works about Lamartine.—The well-known scholar, M. George Perrot, appears in the first of the January parts, with a very noticeable study, in which he considers the relation between the soil and the climate of Greece and the character of her civilisation and of her art.—M. Emile Faguet devotes a very long article to one whom many will consider scarcely worthy of it, Stendhal, as Henri Beyle styled himself.—Political economy brings an important contribution. It is from the pen of M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and deals with the commercial treaties of Central Europe, commercial conventions between the States of America, and revenue organisation in France.—M. Jules Decrais has made the trial of the Liverpool murderer, Conway, the subject of a paper, illustrative of criminal procedure in England.—Under the title of 'Hors du cercle,' one of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's Indian stories appears in an excellent French version.—In the remaining numbers—those for March—the contributions which will most interest the general reader are, if he have any classical tastes, M. Gaston Boissier's scholarly description, based on recent discovery, of the secular games of Augustus; M. Gaston Deschamps's account of a stay in Athens; and, cognate with this, M. Müntz's brilliant sketch of Athens in the Middle Ages; and M. D. Bikélas's essay on Byzantine literature.—Another article well worthy of perusal is M. de Vogüé's admirable critical study, 'Chateaubriand.'

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (Nos. 1 and 2, 1892).—In the first of these numbers, apart from the usual 'Chronique' and reviews of current literature on religious subjects, we have two articles, and in the second only one. The first of the two is a continuation of M. Abbé de Broglie's 'La loi de l'unité de sanctuaire en Israel.' His object in this series of studies is to show that the fact that only one place was legally fixed for the offering of sacrifices in Israel by the Levitical and Deuteronomic codes does not, as the critics of the so-called Modern School maintain, militate against the Mosaic authorship of these codes, but is perfectly consistent with it. In his previous paper he

endeavoured to show the reasonableness of the traditional opinion as to the origin of these codes, and how much that opinion was in harmony (1), with the circumstantial details given as to their promulgation in the Pentateuch, and (2), the purpose in view in limiting sacrifices to one place and the priesthood to one family. Here the learned Abbé takes up the intermediate history between the time of Moses and that of the Second Temple, as given in the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, etc., and endeavours to show that the facts and incidents recorded in these books, and which have been thought by modern critics to prove the non-existence of these codes, were not only perfectly compatible with their existence, but are in themselves easily explicable when the circumstances of the actors in these events are carefully considered. This part of his article carries us to the revolt of the northern tribes under the leadership of Jeroboam.—The second paper is a further instalment of M. Felix Robiou's dissertation on 'Myths.' Having in his two former papers dealt with those of Egypt, he here passes in review some of those that have been recovered for us by the excavations in Chaldæa and Assyria—those of Sumir and Accad. Three sections of his article are, however, devoted first to the question as to the aboriginal races and the Semitic mixture with them, and their special religious heritages and tendencies.—The one article in the second number is the concluding part of M. Abbé Loisy's series of 'Etudes sur la religion Chaldéo-Assyrienne.' Here he deals with the Deluge Tablets and compares the narrative there with that of Genesis, and the religious teaching which permeates the two versions. He also discusses the question as to their relations to one another, whether the Biblical narrative was borrowed from the Chaldæan, or they were both independent versions of a common tradition. M. Loisy favours the latter opinion, and regards the characteristic features of the Biblical version as not the work of any one writer but of the generations transmitting the tradition.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier, 1892).—The first article, which bears the signature of Ludv.-Chr. Stern, is devoted to a description of the Irish MS. in the University of Leyden. This MS. formerly belonged to Isaac Voss, who in all probability obtained possession of it in England during his residence there from 1670 to 1689. Windisch examined it in 1883, but there is no mention of it in M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's Catalogue, and hitherto few seem to have been acquainted with the fact of its existence. The nine sheets of which it consists, belonged originally to two different MSS. The first two, the handwriting of

which resembles that of Mac-Aegan in the *Leabhar Breac*, are assigned by M. Stern to the sixteenth century, and the remaining seven, though badly written and in a somewhat cramped hand, appear to belong to the same period. For a long time the MS. was without cover or binding. The consequence is that the writing on the first and last pages, with the exception of a few letters, has been completely effaced. The first part of the MS. contains a fragment, incomplete at the beginning, of the adventures of Finn mac Cumail, then the history of Aed Rind and Conan Mil-bel, which is also given in the Book of Leinster, and next the Vision of Finn mac Cumail. In the second part we have an episode from the Feast of Bicrin. The text of the first part is given together with a translation and notes, while beneath the original text that of the Book of Leinster is placed for comparison. Specimens only are given of the text of the second part. It is collated, however, though not completely, with that of other MSS.—Dr. Whitley Stokes supplies the text of the Boroma, from the lithographic facsimile of the Book of Leinster, adding an English translation, many notes and a list of the *verba rariora*.—M. H. de la Villemarqué continues his contribution of *Anciens Noël Bretons*, bringing the number of them up to forty-one, and J. von Pfluck-Hartung contributes a learned article on the date and character of the Epic cycles in Ireland.—Under ‘*Bibliographie*,’ M. Dottin writes an appreciative notice of the Rev. Edmund Hogan’s *Irish Phrase-book*.—The ‘*Chronique*,’ one of the best features of the *Revue* is this quarter unfortunately very short, owing to the illness of the learned editor. For editing of the rest of the number he has had the invaluable assistance of M. Dottin.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (January, February, March).—The Swiss Government, having resolved to make the emission of notes a monopoly, the question will soon arise as to the kind of bank to be entrusted with it. In view of the discussion which divergences of opinion with regard to this are sure to call forth, Dr. W. Burckhardt contributes a long article, running through the three numbers, entitled, ‘*Les Grandes Banques d’Emission d’Europe et la Future Banque Nationale Suisse*.’ His object is to show the results obtained by the most important European banks, and to draw from this study conclusions which may prove useful to Switzerland. His first instalment deals exclusively with the Bank of England; in the second the *Banque de France*

and the German Reichsbank take their turn; whilst the third part contains the practical deductions which it was the writer's object to arrive at.—M. Edouard Rod gives a very able study, 'The Evolution of French Literature.' Its importance may be estimated from the conclusion at which he arrives, and which, indeed, he fully substantiates, that the gross naturalism of the last decade is on the wane, and that there are undoubted symptoms of a literary reaction.—In an article of considerable interest, M. L. Leger sketches the career of Radistchev, a Russian publicist, to whom falls the honour of having been the first who dared openly attack serfdom.—The first number closes with an article which has attracted considerable attention. It is entitled 'Peace in Europe,' and its leading idea is that the possibility of war between France and Germany should be removed by the retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine in exchange for some colony such as Tongkin. The writer is M. Ed. Tallichet.—To the numbers for February and March, Dr. Suchard contributes an interesting sketch of the water-cure.—'Le Théâtre en France avant Corneille,' a literary essay by M. Henri Warnery, is very readable, and excellent so far as it goes; its greatest fault is that it does not go very far, indeed, it deals almost exclusively with Hardy, and makes no mention, for example, of Montchrestien.—M. Paul Stapfer's philosophical and literary study, 'Le Génie et l'Occasion,' is intended as a kind of refutation of Carlyle's theory that circumstances call forth genius and give it its bent.—'La Guerre en Europe,' by M. Tallichet, in spite of its title, deals rather with peace than with war. A considerable portion of it is taken up with an answer to the various criticisms of his former article. The 'war' to which he subsequently refers, is not that of armed battalions, but that which a return to protection on the part of France is causing.—In all three numbers the 'chroniques' are as usual entertaining, and often instructive.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (Revista Ibero-Americana).—(January).—Emilia Pardo Bazan has a very bright and clever article on Sir John Lubbock's *Pleasures of Life*, having the French edition, *Le Bonheur de vivre*, translated from the 20th English edition, before her. She has her joke about 'Merry England' amid her foggy land, while acknowledging that the doctrine of sorrow and annihilation had birth under the glorious oriental sky. 'Whether the English or the Indians are saddest or happiest is a doubtful point, and in every country they will have

their league of bad road and their hours of anguish and sorrow. Still, it will always be an evident truth, and worthy of meditation, what Lubbock affirms, "that troubles do not seek us, we seek them." While refusing to accept Lubbock's literary taste, and comparing adversely his Spanish library with Schopenhauer's, she acknowledges the wholesome character of its teaching, and concludes humourously by suggesting, that a pessimist might maliciously suggest that it is easy to write on 'the pleasures of life' when one is a baronet, member of the British Parliament, president of the County Council and the Chamber of Commerce of London, and author of famous and celebrated works. To which she proposes the reply that probably Lubbock has reached all these because he professes and practices the theories expressed in his book, *reprinted twenty times!*—A hot discussion in connection with the first expedition of Columbus runs through several months, in which the claims of Cadiz are contested, and the assertion that Columbus gave a new world to Spain, and was repaid by poverty and neglect, is strongly denied. His personality is also energetically attacked, and the 'romance' of Washington Irving declared to have no foundation in reality.—Castelar takes a bird's-eye view of the general condition of the peoples of Europe with his customary perspicuity and insight, but he cannot forget that Gibraltar is still ours, and its possession renders him oblivious of all the blood and treasure we spent in their defence, against those French they now adore. Spanish egotism also ripples over the edge. 'We have no need to subject ourselves to foreign tutelage, as Portugal to that of Britain; we do not suffer from the religious disturbances that afflict France; we do not struggle with Irish questions like England; we have no internal territorial difficulty like that roused in Italy by the Pontificate, nor an irridentist party like that which unites Italy with Illyria and Dalmatia, the Trentino and Trieste.' He continues to show Spain's superiority and safety from internal and external enmity compared with each of the other nations of Europe, and promises her a future of liberty and devotion to progress.—In 'Literary Impressions' the literary work of the past year is examined.—'The Angular Stone' of Emilia Pardo Bazan is devoted to showing the absurdity of capital punishment, and even greater absurdity to curse the hangman.—'The 'Black Shade' of Senor Dicenta is a series of short tales of a very pessimist kind, very highly spoken of.—Senor Solsona has a 'Political Study' of Ayala, in which he gives a striking portrait of the author of 'So much per cent'; while Isidoro Fernandez Florez has produced a study of the dramatic author, D. Manuel Tamayo of Baus. These seem the principal works of the past year.—The

remainder of the number is filled with translations: Moltke's *Franco-Prussian War*; Wagner's *Recollections of my Life*, and four French translations.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (Revista Ibero-Americana).—(February).—The most interesting and valuable paper in this number is one on 'Slavery in Spain,' in which the author, Adolfo de Castro, shows how slaves were treated. They kept increasing in Europe from the earliest ages, and in the Middle Ages were, in Spain, mainly 'Moors' or Saracens. These commonly became so-called Christians, and were baptised, whereas in Barbary, when a Christian became a Mahomedan, he was at once released and became a freeman, the nominal adhesion to Christianity did little for the Moor. Spain on the other hand was spoiled by the Moors from Barbary for slaves, and two religious bodies were inaugurated for the sole purpose of redeeming these from slavery. But it was argued that this only increased the efforts of the Moors to capture more Christians, seeing they were paid so much money to release them. The galley slaves were recruited under Philip II. voluntarily and temporarily. In the vicinity of Ports they gathered the degraded classes and set them to play games of hazard the one against the other, the loser becoming a galley slave for the time agreed upon. In 1616 Cadiz was anxious, on account of having 300 Moorish slaves and 50 negroes therein; while in 1637 an order was issued that the *Christian slaves*, negroes, mulattoes, and Indians therein, should be relegated to the galleys. In 1646 the Turkish slaves in Cadiz were ordered to live at ten leagues inland; but eight years after it was complained that 1500 were still in the town. One curious fact is stated, viz., that with the wages that the Moorish slaves obtained they maintained their owners, who were often widows or other poor people. After the successful repulse of the Turks by Sobieska and others in 1683, Turkish slaves were sold in multitudes all over Europe, 2000 arriving to be sold in Cadiz alone. The nuns seems to have held numerous personal slaves; a curious fact. In the *International Chronicle* even Castelar is pessimistic over the breaking of the commercial treaty between Spain and France. 'We, the peoples of ideas and of light, the peoples made for intellectual and mercantile understanding, the peoples revealing and progressive, the peoples of the Latin race, brutally, by an incredible retrocession, have shut ourselves up in egotism and solitude, completely foreign to our nature and to all our history.' An interesting Philosophico-religious criticism on the death of Cardinal Manning, shows an intimate knowledge of English literature.—In 'Literary Impressions,' we find

a notice of P. Blanco's 'Spanish Literature in the Nineteenth Century, 2nd Part,' well spoken of, but his literary judgments severely criticised.—The other works named are collections of pieces of no great note although of some literary value. In an estimate of Ibsen, the writer holds, 'Hardly is there a portrait of natural, true, human passion,'—everything is falsified under symbolism. While admiring the directness and simplicity of Ibsen's style, the author, J. Benavente, evidently thinks little of his art as a transcript of nature.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (Revista Ibero-Americana).—(March).—The Spaniards are evidently somewhat sore upon the subject of Cristóbal Colón, as the great mariner we know as *Columbus* was called. This number is again rich in Columbian controversy. One paper by Cesáreo Fernández Duro, 'The Idea or Conception of Columbus,' endeavours to explain Spain's disregard of him by belittling his labours and his personality. 'Without exception, histories increase the merits, the ostensible rank and the respectability of Christóbal Colón, chief of Spanish seamen; he was not held, all the same, as an extraordinary man, which in course of time he has come to be considered. When his last hour sounded in Valladolid, his death did not produce in the public mind any greater impression than that of any other of the magnates or notable personages in the kingdom. They charged themselves with the funeral expenses as was right and customary, his eulogy did not attract attention.' At the court were the noted scholar Pedro Martin of Angleria, the Geraldines, the ambassadors of Rome, Geneva, and Venice, who no more granted to their Italian compatriot special mention or enthusiastic remembrance than the Spaniards themselves.' A century after: 'Italy, when the peoples of Lombardy and Genoa began to dispute the birthplace of the navigator, opposed his merits, antedating those of Américo Vespucci, a school founded in Florence.' These two navigators now divide the honours, the latter giving the name to the Continent, while Colón, or Columbus retains the first place in the imagination of the world.—In 'Archaeology and the Plastic Arts in the Theatre,' José Ramon Mélida enlarges on the necessity for greater efforts to simulate reality—instancing the doors that open and shut and deceive no one, in place of requiring to be opened and closed with an *appearance* of weight.—Castelar, in the *International Chronicle*, shows what a 'sad and struggling future' there is for Europe, and Germany in particular. He says: 'Contemporary kings have been released from God's guidance. The wretched creatures do not know, in their desire to intermeddle like idiots or mad people,

that monarchy is spared amongst the English, because the monarchs never personally intervene in the Government, but obey, like steam engines, public opinion and the Chambers. But give to the English a King Humbert, involved in the Triple Alliance, an Emperor William of Brandenburg, mixed continually in every German mess, a King of Denmark in constant antagonism with national representation, a King of Sweden in opposition with democratic Norway, a King of Lusitania who inaugurates the commencement of his reign by withdrawing public liberties, and tell me what would remain of royalty in a people so accustomed to govern itself as the English people, admirable for its freedom and admirable for its Parliament.'—Amongst French novels and one each by Tolstoy and Turguenieff, we find a critique of Stuart Mill's *Memoirs and Life*.

HOLLAND.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The January number opens with an introductory lecture delivered by Prof. Tiele in November, when beginning a course of lectures on the philosophy of Religion. Hitherto he has dealt with the history of religion; but the new subject has been imposed on him by the act of a colleague, Prof. Gunning, whose sensitive conscience forbade him to take up a theme in which Christianity would have to be treated as only one of a number of religions. Dr. Tiele's remarks on the relation of the history of religion to the philosophy of it, and on his own position as an impartial student of religion who yet believes the religion of Christ to be carefully distinguished from all church statements of it, to be immeasurably higher than any other, indeed the highest form of religion man can ever attain, are extremely interesting and lifelike. Dr. D. Völter follows with a paper written in German, and bearing the title 'Two Epistles to the Philippians.' The theory has been advanced before; notably by Hausrath, but Dr. Völter's two Epistles turn out differently from Hausrath's. The latter merely held chapters i. and ii. to be a separate work from chapters iii. iv. Völter's first epistle is i. 3-7; i. 12-26; ii. 17-30; iv. 10-20, 21, 23. His second, i. 27-ii. 16; iii. 1-iv. 9; iv. 22; while i. 1-2, was 'the beginning of both of them alike, and some few verses are doubtful. If any of our readers will take the trouble to read the section given continuously, he will find the first epistle to breathe nothing but affection and gratitude to the Philippians, it forms a piece without a harsh note in it, and Dr. Völter judges it to be a genuine work of Paul, and worthy of him both in thought and expression. The critical objections to Philippians are

then taken up so far as based on the sections reckoned to belong to this first epistle, and found to be without substance. A personal and quite undoctinal letter, it is not to be compared with the great Epistles, but in no point does it contradict them.

The second Epistle is discussed in the March number of the 'Tijdschrift.' Unlike the other it is mainly doctrinal and parenetic, and whereas the first Epistle spoke of a state of unbroken harmony in the Church at Philippi, this one speaks of the necessity of efforts towards harmony, and describes persons of a pernicious tendency by a variety of uncomplimentary epithets. It is mainly the comparison of the two epithets that leads Dr. Völter to the conclusion that the second is not genuine. The procedure certainly appears arbitrary and illogical; there is probably no book in Scripture which would not admit of being separated into two works, the first containing all that is easy to understand and the second all that is more difficult, and the first will always serve to prove the second portion. In the remainder of Dr. Völter's paper we have all the arguments Baur brought against Philippians, urged against second Philippians, for the passages these arguments were based on have all been placed in the second Epistle. Dr. Völter certainly has something Baur has not. As the Christology of 2nd Philippians resembles that to be found in certain verses of Romans and Corinthians, the author has to pass judgment on these latter verses also, and declares them all to be interpolations in the great Epistles. These the writer has already pulled to pieces in his work on the principal Epistles of Paul, and we can only watch with surprise as he re-creates the whole Pauline literature, and divides it among a number of different writers in different periods. This sort of thing one would imagine must soon work its own way.

In the March number there is a very interesting paper by Dr. J. G. Boekenooogen, on Christology, the doctrine of Christ, that is to say, according to the newest Dutch criticism, in which Christ is no longer an historical figure but a personification of Christianity as an historical force, and of Christian experience. It is very curious to witness how the entire loss of the historical Christ is maintained to leave Christianity as a working religion unimpaired. The preacher who has ceased to believe in the reality of the figure of Jesus as presented in the Gospels must yet, this writer maintains, continue to speak of what Jesus did and to repeat the words of Jesus, and to represent Jesus as being still a being and a working personality; only in this way can the truths and claims of Christianity be brought home to the minds of men. This the new criticism holds, is the sense in which the Gospels

themselves speak of Jesus, and the preacher should preach Christian truths in the same way as they do, and should celebrate Christmas and Easter as they do representing processes of the Christian life in the figure of a person whom he does not believe ever to have existed. There the extreme criticism leads in practice to a system of mysticism, which differs, however, from the old mysticism in being conscious of unreality.

Dr. Kuenen's last notes for the *Theological Tijdschrift* are printed in this number. They break off in the middle of a sentence in a notice. The ever to be lamented scholar was writing on the two Introductions to the Old Testament which to his great satisfaction had appeared during the previous year. Canon Driver's book had been read by Kuenen, but is not reached in this fragmentary notice.

DE GIDS (February).—Contains a repulsive yet pathetic story, 'The Murdress,' revealing the worst side of Dutch peasant life.—Van der Vlugt continues his article on Toynbee work, making an earnest appeal for some similar movement in the great cities of Holland, where the need for it seems to be quite as great as in London.—'The Duke of Brunswick, 1750-84,' is a review of Nijhoff's book by De Beaufort, who sums up his examination of the Duke by saying that the Duke was a person of ordinarily good intelligence, but not possessed of the higher qualities of heart and soul that raise a man above the common level. The love of power was his strongest motive, and he was capable of stooping to the lowest means in order to maintain and extend his position and authority. In a word, he was not so bad as his contemporaries have depicted him, and certainly not so good as Nijhoff makes him out to be.—Polak gives a second long article on 'Will-o'-the-Wisps.' Starting from his criticism of the lately discovered *Athênaiôn Politeia*, he proceeds to ascertain what was the real character of the Athenian democracy. He takes a wide review of various writers on the subject, especially of Julius Schvarcz, whose immense work containing all possible information is condemned as a sort of electric light picture in which the shadows come out perfectly black, while, on the other hand, Macaulay gives an absurdly rose-coloured idea of the Attic State. Grote and Mommsen also come in for criticism. The great absurdity is in people making the constitution of the Athenian democracy a battering ram in modern politics. Its ideals were only very partially ours. It is quite chimerical to suppose that the State of Athens, so long passed away, can be of the least significance in settling the social questions of modern society. Whatever solution these find it will certainly be very different from

anything realised in the democracy of ancient Athens.—‘A Dilletante Diplomatist,’ is a review of the correspondence of W. A. Miles on the French Revolution, always interesting but not always to be relied on as an authority.—(March).—H. P. G. Quack gives a sympathetic and interesting account of Ruskin’s St. George’s Guild, which, from a practical point of view, is a beautiful iridescent soap-bubble, doomed to burst and vanish, but the case is very different with the ideas which it embodies. Ruskin has done noble service in bringing before men high ideals of social life, and his work will not go for nothing in the evolution of our century, but will be a permanent source of inspiration to all who seek to ameliorate the lot of the disinherited classes.—The 300th anniversary of the birth of Comenius is celebrated in a sketch of his life and influence by Jutfaas. A brave and steadfast pioneer of education, he left his mark not only on his own time, but his influence is still traceable in modern educational methods. His greatest service was the introduction of primary education in the mother tongue, and in this way greatly helped, especially in Germany, to lay the foundation of vernacular literature. He confessedly owed much to Erasmus, Scaliger, and others, but no one before him brought the same ideas into actual practice in school-life. He lived in many lands, where his educational services were always eagerly sought for, but his last resting-place was Amsterdam, so that Holland has a peculiar interest in him. As a theologian, his influence was not great, and latterly he held mystic, visionary, almost childish, views, yet all through his eventful life he stands out as a brave, self-sacrificing man, worthy of remembrance.—Groenewegen continues his studies on Potgieter, taking up what he calls the transition period of the poet’s life, 1831-36. He was entrusted with a commission to Sweden, which took a year to fulfil, and during that time in his travels he was always trying to find a suitable place to settle as a merchant, but at the same time cultivating his poetic gifts. Literature was then in a flourishing state in Scandinavia, Tegnér being then at the height of his fame; and Gothenberg, where Potgieter stayed for a time, was the centre of a brilliant society, which did much to polish and develop the young poet. On his return he settled at Amsterdam, and his poems at this time show the influence of the romantic school. He soon devoted himself more to translating and writing critiques, and did much to open up to the Dutch the literature of other countries, but he did not gain a confirmed position among the writers of the day until he published *The North*, a book containing descriptions of Scandinavia in many aspects. In character he has been

likened to our Charles Lamb.—Van Hamel reviews Bourget's *Italie*, a charming book, not the least attractive quality being the half-unconscious revelation throughout of Bourget's own character and feelings.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Early Religion of Israel as set forth by Biblical Writers and by Modern Critical Historians (Baird Lecture, 1889). By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1892.

Professor Robertson is not by any means so timorous a writer as his almost amusingly apologetic preface would lead one to suppose. Even the great names of Wellhausen and Stade have no awe for him. He handles them with extreme boldness, and does not hesitate to call their arguments in question, to throw stones at their theories, and to traverse and turn their arguments. In the present, when what are called the advanced views of Old Testament critics have become almost traditional and many are beginning to look upon them as things to be accepted without question, it is quite refreshing to come across a writer who, with the learning of Dr. Robertson, has the courage to own his inability to accept them, and is at the same time able to maintain his conservative attitude towards them with arguments which those whom he opposes will find it difficult to set aside. Besides his learning, Dr. Robertson brings to his task a large measure of common sense. He has also the advantage of not being a thorough-going specialist. This is no small advantage, more especially in matters of criticism, as most who are acquainted with modern German theological books are aware. Specialists in matters theological, and in most others, are apt to become theorists and exhibit not infrequently a strange habit of magnifying the importance of whatever seems to tell in favour of their theories, and of overlooking those which tell against them. Dr. Robertson writes with a large and intelligent grasp of his subject. As compared with many who have dealt with it before him, he is less wedded to theory and more anxious to ascertain what are the real facts of the case than to maintain a foregone conclusion. There are some admissions in his volume which to those who are ultra conservative in their way of thinking may not be pleasing. All the same, they are extremely moderate, and will be regarded by many as far from sufficient. Taking the compositions which are admitted on all hands to belong to the period which may be roughly described as the century between 850 and 750 B.C., the ultimate point he seeks to determine by the aid of these authorities is what was the actual state of religion in Israel, in its various aspects of belief and practice, in the times *preceding* the period to which the authorities to which appeal is made belong, and how far back the beliefs which are found prevailing in undisputed historic times can be traced. As already hinted, the results these authorities yield in the hands of Dr. Robertson are very different from those which Wellhausen, Stade, and Renan profess to obtain; but for what they are, and for the way in which they are obtained, we must refer the reader to Dr. Robertson's volume. Its freshness and its attractiveness are unquestionable, and while thoroughly well adapted for popular reading, it is a book which no student of the Old Testament can safely afford to pass by.

The Leading Ideas of the Gospels. By WILLIAM ALEXANDER, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. New Edition, Revised and Greatly Enlarged. London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Though not exactly a new book, this new edition of Bishop Alexander's *Leading Ideas* deserves to be called one. The changes it has undergone are very considerable. The political allusions, very natural at the time the sermons were delivered, have been omitted, the sermon form has been discarded, and much corroborative and illustrative matter, the result of further study, has been added. The main theme of the volume, however, that is, that each of the Gospels is pervaded by dominant ideas, is the same. On this no advance or alteration has been made. Whatever novelty there is in the volume is in the arguments, illustrations, and form; and this is almost sufficient to entitle the volume to be regarded as a different treatise. That the central idea of the volume is new is not of course pretended. Modern Germans have written largely about it, and in the ancient Church it was well known, and widely, if not everywhere, accepted. Among the artists of the middle ages it was conventionalised, and found expression in all their representations of the Evangelists. In this country, however, at least among Protestants, it seems to have been almost entirely forgotten, until Bishop Alexander recalled it to the attention of students in the sermons in which the present volume originated. Of the manner in which he has treated his subject it is hardly necessary to speak. Bishop Alexander is not a German, but his treatment of his subject, while not less scholarly, is less stiff and formal and unattractive. In many places it rises into eloquence, and is everywhere luminous, cautious, and temperate. The work may be said to divide itself into two parts—the first dealing with the leading ideas in the different Gospels, and the second with the leading ideas pervading the Evangelical narratives of the Passion. Going back to the beginning Bishop Alexander finds the germ of the theory he develops in the address delivered by S. Peter in the house of Cornelius (Acts x. 34-44), and then proceeds to deal with each of the Evangelical narratives. His treatment of the third Gospel is specially deserving of notice, as at once broad, scriptural, and full of just observations. His remarks with reference to the Ebionitism and communistic principles S. Luke is supposed to teach, are admirable, and show how far he is removed from the narrowness of the specialist or ideologist. The work may be taken in short as affording a sample of the vast treasures of wisdom and instruction which the Gospels may be made to yield when treated in a free, reverent and enlightened spirit. In its original form the work has been long out of print; in its new form it is likely, if not sure, to find a much wider circle of readers.

The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord (Baird Lecture, 1891). By WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Professor Milligan has had the honour of holding the Baird Lectureship a third time, an honour which, so far as our memory serves us, has fallen to no other. In his first turn of office he dealt with our Lord's Resurrection. Here that series of lectures, which is now a well-known and popular book, is followed up by a series on the Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of the Redeemer. The fitness of this series to form a sequel to the former

is obvious. Practically, they both treat of the same subject, for without His Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood the glorification of our Lord, which was begun in His Resurrection, can only be conceived of as incomplete. In the first of the lectures in this series, Dr. Milligan deals with the historical fact of our Lord's Ascension, its evidences, different aspects, and importance. The second and third lectures are devoted to the heavenly priesthood of our Lord in heaven; the fourth to the gift of the Spirit, and the remaining two to the heavenly priesthood of our Lord on earth. In dealing with these problems, Dr. Milligan has to handle a number of very delicate and difficult problems, but his treatment of them may be said to be without dogmatism and characterised by a liberal and devout spirit. That the lectures are eloquent need hardly be said, for here, as usual, the author is nothing if not eloquent. That they contain any new or solid contribution to the science of theology may, however, be doubted. They have the merit, and it is no slight one, of putting into clear and intelligible language, as well as of bringing down to the capacity of the average modern reader, a number of truths and ideas which have been often uttered before. It is somewhat difficult to reconcile the statement on page 211 that 'before His Ascension our Lord was not in a position to bestow the gift of "Holy Spirit,"' with the statement on a previous page (175), 'When He sent forth His disciples to carry on the great purposes of His mission, it was through the "Holy Spirit" that He gave them commandment, and His last and highest gift, that in bestowing which He felt that He bestowed Himself, was the gift of the Spirit: "He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Spirit."' One statement may be referred to as showing what will probably strike many as remarkable in the mouth of a Scottish Professor of Divinity, if not, when taken in connection with a certain movement within the Church of Scotland, as indicative of a steady drift of feeling in at least one if not two directions: 'Extemporaneous prayer, however tasteful, and however it may proceed from the most fervent spirit of devotion, can never be the Church's voice. We can never hear in it those common utterances that, sanctified by centuries of Christian usage, proclaim the faith and hope and love of ten thousand times ten thousand souls, which, amidst all the varieties of their outward condition, have been really one.'

The Real Jesus: a Review of His Life, Character, and Death, from a Jewish Standpoint. By JOHN VICKERS. London: Williams and Norgate. 1891.

This work embodies in substance Mr. Vickers' efforts as an apostle of Theism to interpret the narratives of the Gospels for the benefit or instruction of 'members of the Theistic Church.' These efforts have been more or less continuous for some years, and in various ways he has sought to bring his views before a wider constituency in the hope of converting people to them, and so bringing them into sympathetic and active union with that Church. This is his purpose in issuing the volume before us. He is not a Jew, but endeavours here, as he thinks, to look at Jesus through the eyes of a Jew who shares the theistic principle with him. After an elaborate introduction, in which there is much that in these days of conflict between class and class, and between religion and irreligion, is both true and wise, and which will be read with pleasure and profit by most thoughtful Christians, he sets himself, in a series of eight chapters, to subject what is related in the Gospels regarding Jesus to a 'critical' examination. A preliminary chapter is devoted to 'the Modern Eulogists of Jesus.' The bulk of his book is bent on showing how very little there

is in the Gospel narratives that is historically true or rationally credible. But Mr. Vickers, like a great many other 'critics' of the same school, overdoes his criticism, and instead of giving us a portrait presents us with a caricature, which is so unfair and improbable, that it will be instinctively and promptly rejected by every unprejudiced mind. In these chapters we have constantly obtruded upon us what a very much superior person Mr. Vickers is to 'the real Jesus.' If in this and that circumstance of his life, Jesus had just acted as Mr. Vickers says he ought to have acted, then He would have been worthy of praise, and His work would have resulted in this or that wonderful good. Unfortunately, Mr. Vickers was not present to guide Him, and He was constantly therefore both saying and doing the things He ought not. This kind of thing would be amusing if it were not repulsive, and the constant monotony of it provokes feelings which are not altogether respectful to Mr. Vickers. If this kind of criticism and portraiture makes one convert to Theism, we cannot but pity the Church that gains him. The concluding chapter on 'the Fruits of Christianity' is largely devoted to Mr. Froude's and Canon Farrar's appreciation of Christianity's aims and influences. He there tries to show that their estimates of it are devout imaginations, resting on no historical evidence. According to Mr. Vickers, 'primitive Christianity,' instead of seeking to 'improve family government in the interest of social order, rather sought to effect its entire abolition, and to encourage parental neglect. There was to be no more wholesome restraint, no more toiling for and storing up of wealth, but children and parents were to forget alike their obligations to each other, and to herd together in a free mendicant community.' *Ex uno, etc.*

Anthropological Religion: The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1891. By F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1892.

Anthropological Religion, the branch of Natural Religion which forms the subject of this third series of Professor Max Müller's Gifford Lectures, is not in any way more closely connected with Anthropology, which Dr. Tylor has defined as the science of man and civilisation, than the other branches of Natural Religion. It is called anthropological, we are told, simply and solely in order to comprehend under that name all the attempts which have been made to discover something not merely human, then superhuman, then divine and immortal in man. Hence the main object of the lectures is to ascertain historically and chiefly by means of the study of language, the origin and development of the belief in God, in the immortality of the soul, and in a future retribution. That the lecturer's treatment of his subject presents many features of interest and novelty need hardly be said. His style is as simple and attractive as ever, and we have here the same frankness of utterance and the same wealth of illustration. India is as usual uppermost in his mind, but here, as in his previous lectures, his illustrations are drawn from a wide area. The passages to which exception was taken at the time the lectures were being delivered, remain, and in the preface to the series the author takes the opportunity of replying to his critics. Some of these will probably be not a little surprised to find him seeking shelter, or at least producing confirmation for his views, in the utterances of Cardinal Newman and Dr. Temple. Fortunately we have here no call to take part in the controversy nor to express either approval or disapproval of the lecturer's theological ideas. These apart, however, the lectures are a learned contribution to a vast and

intricate subject, and few will differ from the author when he says that 'Christianity is the fulfilment of all that the world has been hoping and striving for, and has given the best and truest expression to what the Old World tried to express in various and less perfect ways.'

Hastings and the Rohilla War. By Sir JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S.I., Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1892.

The clouds which have so long dimmed the lustre of Hastings' rule in India are at last beginning to be swept away and the heavy burden of reproach under which his memory has laboured to be removed. Few men have had so many hard words thrown at them; few have been so strongly misrepresented, and few have been so heavily calumniated. Burke's prosecution of him was doubtless prompted by pure and noble motives, but the language he held respecting him passed all bounds. Magnificent as his speeches are said to have been, it is impossible to read them now without feeling, to say the least, that the epithets he employed and the manner in which he spoke of Hastings was intemperate and uncalled for. It may be, as some have argued, that he is badly reported; some excuse may also be made for him by the fact which Macaulay pointed out, that when once his imagination and passions were excited he lost control of them; but for Mill the historian there can be none. He was not of a nature to be carried away either by his imagination or his passions. He wrote calmly, with the coldness of an unemotional and phlegmatic nature. That he should have written of Hastings as he has, can only be accounted for by supposing that his judgment and sense of right were completely warped by political prejudices. Sir James Stephen charges him with bad faith. But whether his misrepresentations were made of set purpose or not, they have been repeated and generally regarded as true. Quite recently the last named writer has turned his attention to the charges brought against Hastings and Impey in connection with Nuncomar, and it is not likely that the imaginary charges imputed to them in that connection will again appear in real history. What Sir James Stephen has done for that episode, Sir John Strachey here seeks to do in reference to the Rohilla war. Of his fitness for the task, it is needless to speak. Equally unnecessary is it to say anything as to the manner in which he has discharged it. Sir John is well known as a writer, and he here brings together a body of evidence which completely exonerates Hastings. Nothing indeed can be more complete than his vindications of the policy and integrity of the course he adopted, or his refutation of the charges made against him in connection with the war. The English army, he shows, was not hired out by Hastings for the destruction of the Rohillas; nor did the Rohillas belong, as Burke declared, to the bravest, the most honourable and generous nations on the earth. They were no nation at all, he points out, but a comparatively small body of cruel and rapacious Afghan adventurers, who had imposed their foreign rule on an unwilling Hindu population. Sir John Strachey himself went to Rohilkhand believing, or at least not doubting, the story of their destruction as told by Burke and Mill and Lord Macaulay, and was in frequent intercourse with the people and their rulers, but in the country and among the descendants of the people who were said to have been destroyed, he found that the story was utterly unknown. The evidence which Sir John here adduces is the best, being drawn from the official and secret records of the time, as well as from private correspondence, and leaves not a doubt that the whole story as hitherto told is fictitious.

The History of Civilisation in Scotland. By JOHN MACKINTOSH, LL.D. A new edition. Vol. I. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1892.

This is the first instalment of a new and revised edition of Dr. Mackintosh's well known and esteemed work. As it bears on the title page, and as comparison with the earlier edition will show, the work is undergoing extensive alterations and is being, in fact, to a large extent rewritten. As need hardly be said, the author is taking the opportunity thus afforded to revise some of the opinions he formerly maintained, and also to incorporate some of the more important facts which have come to light since this portion of the work was originally issued, and which wider reading and more extensive research have made him acquainted with. So far Dr. Macintosh has made good use of his opportunity. In its new shape the work promises to be in every respect a great improvement and still more worthy of the place assigned to it. As a history of civilisation in Scotland it stands alone. Mr. Buckle and others have dealt with isolated periods, but Dr. Mackintosh here goes as far back as possible and brings his survey down to the end of the eighteenth century, treating the whole of his very extensive and intricate subject in a systematic, scholarly and workmanlike manner. With so large and difficult a subject to deal with, it would be surprising indeed if he had not laid himself open to criticism, but, although objection may be taken to some of his statements, and to the interpretations he has put upon some of the facts before him, there can be but one opinion as to the merits of the work. It fills an hitherto neglected place in the historical literature of the country and deserves the success it has attained. The present volume contains, besides an elaborate introduction, divided into twelve sections, dealing with the earliest and Celtic civilisation, eleven chapters, in which the history is brought down to the end of the fifteenth century. Chapters are of course devoted to the wars of Independence, but the political relations of the country are passed over somewhat rapidly, and, as might be expected, are dealt with only in so far as they bear upon the intellectual and social life of the people and helped on or retarded the development of their civilisation. As the main factor in civilisation, Dr. Mackintosh takes the human mind, and mentions as occupying a subordinate place surrounding nature, historical relations, and social and material conditions. In thus giving the first place to the human mind he is unquestionably right; the tendency with some during recent years has been to lay more stress on the environment than on that which is really the formative element in progress. Dr. Mackintosh, however, distinctly emphasises the fact that it is to the human mind itself that we must look for the origin of civilisation. At the same time he fully recognises the influence which the aspects of nature and historical, social, and material conditions have in the evolution of the mental energies of a people, and in determining the development, and to a large extent the character and direction, of their social and intellectual history. This is seen in the later chapters of his present volume, more especially in the tenth, where he deals with the condition of the people during and immediately after the Wars of Independence. Here we have an account not only of the origin and functions of Parliament and the character and constitution of the law courts, but also of the origin of new families, the extension of feudal privileges to the nobles, the state of agriculture and commerce, the condition of the burghers and peasantry, their food, clothing, customs, religion, crimes and vices, and their dwellings, together with a description of the dwellings of the nobles, and of the monasteries, nunneries and hos-

pitals. This again is followed by a couple of chapters dealing somewhat minutely with the literature, education, music and art of the period, and showing how the relation in which Scotland stood to England and the continent affected the course of its intellectual development. The earlier chapters of the volume are necessarily of a more antiquarian character than the later, but are not less interesting. In some respects, in particular as dealing with a less known period in the history of the country, they are, if anything, more attractive. One or two points we have noticed may be set down for use in future editions. It is a mistake to say that St. Columba was more engaged in fighting demons than heathen priests; a careful perusal of either Adamnan's *Life* or Cumme's will prove the contrary. That Cumme, the seventh President of Hy, was the author of the Epistle on the Paschal Festival is extremely doubtful. Colgan says that he was; but it may with much more likelihood be referred to Cummanus, a contemporary Irishman. It is hardly correct to say that a 'considerable number of' Adamnan's 'writings still exist in various libraries.' Copies of them may, but his writings were comparatively few, and most of those attributed to him have been identified. In the account of the literature of the thirteenth and two following centuries no notice is taken of the *Legenda* edited by Horstmann and recently re-edited for the Scottish Text Society, nor is any mention made of Dr. Skeat's monumental edition of 'The Bruce.' These, however, are but comparatively small matters. The volume is the beginning of a genuinely important work and an extremely valuable contribution to a large and intensely interesting subject.

Historical Essays. Fourth Series. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., D.C.L., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

This series of essays differs somewhat from the three volumes which have gone before it. The essays are all historical, with perhaps one exception, but they are more varied in character and less easily grouped. The paper on Augustodunum is an admirable continuation of the series of essays which appeared in the third volume, dealing with Trier, Ravenna, Spalato and Palermo, and completes that group so far as it is now, unfortunately, ever likely to be completed. Other pieces of the same general kind are those on Orange, Périgueux and Cahors, and Carthage, all of which are deserving of careful study. That on Carthage may be particularly mentioned. As a piece of historical delineation it is almost equal to anything Mr. Freeman has done. The comparison between Carthage and Rome, and Carthage and Britain is particularly impressive, while the position of the great African Colony among the other powers of the world, her attitude towards her sister colonies, her strength and weakness and her aims, together with the warnings and lessons which her history has for the modern world are all set out in the most skilful and vivid way. One paper deals with the English Civil wars, another with the Battle of Wakefield, and another with National Prosperity and the Reformation. 'Cardinal Pole' is mainly a review of Dr. Hook's *Life of the Cardinal*, and is followed by a review of the same author's *Life of Archbishop Parker* in the ninth volume of his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*. 'Historical Cycles' reminds one of the suggestive paper in the third series with the heading 'Sicilian Cycles,' and is quite as suggestive. 'The House of Lords' is the most political of the series. It deals with the present constitution of the Peers' Chamber, its legal as distinguished from its conventional functions, and how it came to have that constitution and to discharge those functions. On the question of its

'mending' Mr. Freeman declines to write. Of the value of the essay it is not necessary to speak. Like the rest in the volume it contains solid work, and equally with them is well worth preserving. It is remarkable how much information, often of the most recondite kind, Mr. Freeman is able to crowd into his pages, and how he manages to make everything he touches full of interest for the present.

Queen Elizabeth. By EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY. (Twelve English Statesmen.) London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Under strict limitations of space Mr. Beesly has here had to deal with a life which during forty-five years was intimately bound up with the history of England, and cannot be separated from it. It is a life too which, besides abounding in personal interest, has been made both in its public and private aspects the subject of many fierce and apparently interminable controversies. Considering the difficulties he has had to contend with, he may be said to have succeeded in presenting a comparatively full and certainly an interesting and vivid picture of the last of the Tudors. Many points have of course been passed over, or but slightly touched upon, but those selected for fuller treatment have been well chosen, and are such in fact as one would naturally expect them to be. Any settlement of the controversies which have arisen with regard to Elizabeth and many of her public and private actions was scarcely to be looked for in Mr. Beesly's pages. His opinions upon a number of them, however, are distinctly expressed, and on the whole he has evidently endeavoured to write in the spirit of fairness. Of Elizabeth herself he has no very high opinion. Speaking of her conduct in relation to Thomas Seymour, the brother of the Protector Somerset, he says, 'She was only flirting with a man old enough to be her father, just as she afterwards flirted with men young enough to be her sons'; and makes the remark, 'We already get a glimpse of the utter absence both of delicacy and depth of feeling which characterised her through life.' With Elizabeth, he also remarks, the heart never really spoke, and if the senses did, she had them under perfect control. And this, he explains, was the reason why she never loved or was loved, and never has been or will be regarded with enthusiasm by either man or woman. On the other hand he praises her prudence and discretion. But on what principle he can make the assertion that her prudent and blameless conduct in connection with Wyatt's insurrection 'gave her the more right in after years to deal severely with Mary Stuart, whose behaviour under precisely similar circumstances was so very different' we are unable to tell. The cases were not similar and the reasoning is vicious. A more singular excuse for a bad act has rarely been made. At the same time, Mr. Beesly maintains that Elizabeth, notwithstanding her disavowals and treatment of Davison, intended the execution of Mary, and believes that Burghley and the rest who brought it about were only interpreting her will when they forwarded the warrant for it. There can be no doubt that he is right. They did what Elizabeth wanted, but had not the courage to do herself. She is certainly 'Queen Elizabeth of famous memory,' but her fame is stained by one dark and serious blot.

Montrose. By MOWBRAY MORRIS. (English Men of Action.) London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1892.

This brilliant little volume carries us back to a period on which much light has been cast in recent years. Prejudice and partisanship have done

much to misrepresent and obscure the actions and motives of those who played a conspicuous part in its stirring events, and it is doubtful whether we are yet in a position to judge of them calmly and accurately. Mr. Morris, however, has endeavoured to do justice to one of the most transparent and romantic characters of the time. It is not difficult to tell on which side his sympathies lie. He has no love for the Covenanters, and much about the same opinion of the majority of their leaders as Knox had of the Lords of the Congregation. Argyle he sets down as heartless, scheming and ambitious, a traitor and a coward, and Hamilton as weak and treacherous. His sympathies are not altogether with the King, though as against that of the Covenanters' he approves his cause. For Montrose his admiration is great. There is no evident attempt to make a hero of him; Mr. Morris is content to let his actions speak for themselves. The charge of inconsistency is very fairly met, and there can be little doubt that from the point of view adopted the case which Mr. Morris argues, is good. Assuming that Montrose was from the first for king and country, and the point seems to admit of no question, as soon as he discovered the position in which his want of prevision had landed him and the turn affairs were taking, the only course open for him, unless he was to renounce his convictions, was to change sides. Though worthy of a better fate, it is his fate together with the dignity with which he met it, that has shed around him something like a halo of romance. His achievements can scarcely be called great, but in the end he fairly won the title by which he is known.

The Law and Custom of the Constitution. Part II. The Crown. By SIR WILLIAM R. ANSON, BART., D.C.L., etc. etc. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1892.

Though dealing with the Crown in Council, this second volume of Sir W. Anson's work is considerably larger than the first, which deals with the Crown in Parliament. Any surprise which this may at first sight cause, a glance at the table of contents will speedily remove. The Crown in Council is a much larger subject than the Crown in Parliament, and takes in nothing less than the whole executive of the Empire as distinct from the legislature upon which it here and there, and, indeed, everywhere of necessity touches. While longer, it is also considerably more intricate, and the difficulty of dealing with it in any thing like a clear and systematic way is all the greater. Here, however, the reader will find no reason to complain either of the want of perspicacity or of the lack of systematic arrangement. He will be disposed rather to admire the fulness of the information, the orderliness of its arrangement, and the singular clearness with which Sir William Anson everywhere manages to convey it. That we may give the reader something of an idea of what the volume contains, we may mention that the first chapter deals with the prerogatives of the Crown, itself no inconsiderable subject; the second, with the title to the Crown, and the relation between sovereign and subject; the third, with the Council of the Crown, and more especially the Cabinet; the fourth, with the various Departments of Government; the fifth, with the dominion and dependencies of the Crown; the sixth, with the Crown and foreign relations; the seventh, with the revenues of the Crown and their expenditure; the eighth, with the Armed Forces of the Crown; and the ninth and tenth, with the Crown in its relation to the Churches and the Courts of Law. When we add that, as in the volume on the Crown in Parliament, so here the author is not content with merely describing the existing relations and practice, but in every case shows what these were formerly, and traces

their history, some idea may be formed of the greatness of the subject dealt with. The manner in which the historical is interwoven with what may be called the descriptive element in the book, and is made to throw light upon the existing law and custom, constitutes one of the most remarkable features of the volume. Here and there an objection may be taken. Scotsmen, for instance, might object to the Court of Session being classed among 'Courts outside the Supreme Court,' as implying that it is not itself a Supreme Court. That it is, however, is admitted by Sir William, and 'Courts outside the Supreme Court' means, we understand therefore, 'outside the Supreme Court of Judicature' in London. It is a mistake, however, to say that a presbytery consists, as an assembly, of all the ministers within its geographical limits, and the Professors of Divinity (being ministers) of any University within these limits. All ministers within the geographical limits are not members of the presbytery, nor are all beneficed ministers, but those only who are ministers of parishes. This, however, is a matter easy of correction, and it is on this account we mention it. For the rest the volume is deserving of the very highest commendation both for the reasons we have given, and for its facility of reference.

Genealogical Chart of the Royal Family of Great Britain in the Scottish, Anglo-Saxon, Norman, Welsh, Guelph, and Wettin Lines with Collateral Branches. By the REV. ROBERT LOGAN, Abington, Lanarkshire. Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace.

Among the many memorials prepared in connection with Her Majesty the Queen's Jubilee, Mr. Logan noted the omission of a Genealogical Chart of the Royal Family of Great Britain, and has here attempted to supply the omission. His success is manifest. The direct line of descent is set out with the greatest clearness, and considerable attention has been paid to the collateral lines. In similar charts these latter are not always sufficiently attended to, nor is their importance always understood. Following Dr. Skene, Mr. Logan has not gone further back along the Scottish line than Alpine, the father of Kenneth. The fact is noticed, however, that Dr. Skene's opinion is not undisputed, and that by many the line is carried back to the Kings of Dalriada in Ireland. One oversight in the chart requires to be noted, and that is, that Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II., married Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, and that their son, Duncan, the Duncan of Shakespeare, became the first king of the house of Atholl. The Anglo-Saxon line is traced from Cerdic, the first of the West-Saxon Kings, and the Welsh from Maelgwin in the sixth century. The Norman line is taken back to Ivar and the Plantagenet to Tertullus. In the preface to the volume a number of interesting and curious facts are given. Among others, it is noted that James VI. of Scotland and I. of England is the ancestor of nearly every prince now reigning in Europe, and also of several noble families in Germany.

The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot, M.D. By GEORGE A. AITKEN. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1892.

To the modern reader, Dr. Arbuthnot, we fear, is little more than a name, if he is even that. All the same he wrote several things which are worth preserving, and deserves himself to be remembered. The favourite physician of Queen Anne, and the companion of most of the wits of his time, he was held in general esteem, and few of his contemporaries have anything but good to say about him. This is all the more remarkable as he had a consider-

able hand in politics, literary rivalries ran high, and literary men were less reticent in print as to their jealousies even than they are now. Dr. Johnson thought highly of him, and Mr. Aitken has fittingly placed the encomium he passed upon him on the title page of his volume. Berkeley spoke of him in similar terms. 'He is the Queen's domestic physician,' he wrote to Sir John Percival, 'and in great esteem with the whole Court, a great philosopher, and reckoned the first mathematician of the age, and has the character of uncommon virtue and probity.' Swift and Pope were amongst his most intimate friends: they worked together, and it says much for Arbuthnot that their friendship was lasting, and continued without the slightest interruption up to the hour of his death. Not a little credit is due to Mr. Aitken for the very excellent manner in which he discharged the duties he has taken in hand. His researches among the literary remains of the period have enabled him to rescue Arbuthnot from the oblivion which was threatening him, and to throw very considerable light upon his career. The eldest son of Alexander Arbuthnot, minister of the Kirk of Arbuthnot, Dr. Arbuthnot was born April 29, 1667. The present manse stands on the site of the house in which he was born. Refusing to conform, his father was deposed from his living in 1689, and retired to a small property he had inherited, called Kinghornie, which still gives it name to a farm in the Parish of Kinneff. On the death of his father, in February, 1691, Arbuthnot went to London and there maintained himself by teaching mathematics. The following year he published a volume with the title *Of the Laws of Chance*, and in 1694, entered University College, Oxford, as a Fellow-commoner, apparently as companion and private tutor to Edward Jeffreys, son of Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys of Roehampton, Surrey, and Member of Parliament for Brecon. At Oxford he became acquainted with Dr. Charlett, the Master of his College, with whom he maintained a friendship in after life. In 1696 he took his doctor's degree in medicine at St. Andrews, and returning to London published an 'Essay on the Natural History of the Earth,' in which he combatted the views of Dr. Woodward, the Professor of Physics at Gresham College. This was followed in 1701 by an 'Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning.' His various publications, as well as his professional skill, soon brought him into notice. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on St. Andrew's Day, 1704, and in the following year his successful treatment of a sudden indisposition of Prince George of Denmark brought him to the notice of the Queen, whose favour he retained until her death. In his memoir of him, Mr. Aitken has printed a number of Arbuthnot's letters hitherto unpublished, as well as others which passed between him and his numerous correspondents. The memoir itself is an excellent piece of workmanship, and the manner in which both the letters and the 'works' are edited is deserving of the highest praise. Nothing is too small for Mr. Aitken to attend to, even the different modes of spelling the Doctor's surname are recorded, while the notes supplied to the letters as well as to the 'works' are often of the greatest value, throwing light on passages which would be obscure without them, and bearing witness to the thoroughness and fidelity with which Mr. Aitken has discharged his duties as their editor.

The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. By W. Y. SELLAR, M.A., LL.D. Horace and the Elegiac Poets. With a Memoir by ANDREW LANG, M.A., and a Portrait. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1892.

Though the whole of this volume has not been finally revised by its

lamented author, the greater part of it has. Fortunately he was able to revise almost the whole of the chapters on Horace, and most of those on the Elegiac poets. Only the one on Ovid is in an unfinished condition, and, though it might have been supplemented by the author's essay in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, it has been thought better to print it as it was left, with such corrections only as seemed to be necessary. With this exception, therefore, the work may be said to be complete. Doubtless as it passed through the press, Professor Sellar might have introduced additional touches and alterations; the chapter on Ovid could certainly have been expanded and improved; but even as it stands the volume is a worthy completion of the series to which it belongs. That Mr. Andrew Lang has written gracefully and said many just things in the memoir of the author, which he has prefixed to the volume, need hardly be said. He has sketched the somewhat uneventful career of his relative with simplicity, and not without evident pathos, and paid a well-deserved tribute to his learning and character. His remarks upon his style and upon the thoroughness and conscientiousness of his literary work are amply borne out by the volume before us. Professor Sellar was not what is called a popular writer. There is a certain languor in his style; and, as Mr. Lang remarks, when speaking of the first instalment of *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*, 'it cannot be said that "bright speed" or striking effects are the characteristics of the volume.' But the absence of more showy qualities is more than compensated for by the presence of others of a sterling and enduring kind. As has been remarked of the earlier volume, so it may be remarked of this: 'Deep study, profound reflexion, and unexaggerated truthfulness of statement, are its merit.' If the sentences are at times too long, the fault arises from the effort, not very common, to put too much into them. At times, however, Professor Sellar writes with a terseness and point which is not often surpassed; as, for instance, when he says in the first chapter on Horace: 'The Satires present him to us as the disinterested spectator of life, the Epodes as one sharing in its passions, animosities, and pleasures;' or again: 'The Satires and the Epodes reflect the habits, the pleasures, the society of the town: the inspiration of the Odes comes from the heart of the Sabine hills, and the cool stream of the Digentia mingles its refreshment with the current of philosophic meditation in the Epistles.' But the chief value of this, as of its companion, volume is not in its style, but in its thoroughness and conscientiousness. Every line and every word of the authors under review seems to have been studied with the extremest care, and nothing in the literary, social, or political life of their times appears to have been overlooked. The chapter on Ovid, though but a rough sketch of what it was intended to be, shows how complete its author's knowledge was of his subject, and how thoroughly he prepared himself for his work. In the chapters on Horace, Professor Sellar is at his best. These it is scarcely possible to read without admiring them, not only for their fulness of detail and critical sagacity, but also for the many other sterling qualities that pervade them. They exhibit, perhaps, a tendency to idealise and a disposition to take the words of the poet too seriously, yet what they contain is in almost every respect the best account we have seen of him. The passages we have marked are numerous, but here we will content ourselves with the citation of one which, while commending itself as an excellent description of the works of Horace, may be taken as a fair sample of many others in the volume. After remarking 'As Virgil is the most idealising exponent of what was of permanent and catholic significance in the time, Horace is the most complete exponent of its actual life and movement,' and adding, 'He is at once the lyrical poet, with heart and imagination responsive to the deeper meaning and lighter

amusements of life, and the satirist, the moralist, and the literary critic of the age,' Professor Sellar continues: 'The phases of public life and feeling during twenty eventful years, the reflexions suggested by the vicissitudes of national and individual fortune, the pleasures of youth in their refined and piquant aspects, the happiness and the pathetic regrets of the friendships and the social intercourse of maturer years, the idyllic delight of days passed among beautiful scenes endeared by the sense of possession and long familiarity, are so idealised in his lyrical poetry, as to preserve their life and meaning for all after times. The social follies and personal eccentricities, the pedantry and pretension, the avarice and meanness, as well as the luxurious indulgence of the age, are made to pass before us and to teach us their lessons in his satire. The true wisdom of life for the individual under these new social and political conditions, the knowledge how to adapt oneself to the world, and the higher knowledge how to be independent of it, are taught in his Moral Epistles. The criticism which the age needed, and which, as far as criticism could, pointed the way to a more masculine type of poetry than that actually realized by the poets who came after him, was expounded in the poetical Epistles of his later years. On the whole, we find in his writings the completest picture and the justest criticism of his time, expressed with equal mastery in the language of idealising poetry and of common sense. In no Greek or Roman poet do we find so complete a representation of any time, as we find in Horace, of those years of the Augustan age which most deserve to live in the memory of the world.' The Elegiac poets treated in the volume are, besides Ovid, Gallus, Tibullus, Lygdamus, Sulpicia, and Propertius. These, as compared with Virgil and Horace, Professor Sellar regards as men of an essentially lighter character, living for pleasure, showing little sympathy for the new ideas of the time, and making the life of pleasure the one subject of their art. The work is one of rare ability, and while full of sound scholarship and solid learning, is remarkable not less for its many profound observations on human life and character than for its critical acumen and the finer elements of sympathy and just appreciation.

Cours de Littérature Celtique. Par H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE.
Tome V. L'Épopée Celtique en Irlande. Tome I. Paris:
Ernest Thorin. 1892.

The object of this volume is to extend the knowledge of the ancient Celtic literature of Ireland. A hundred and thirty years have passed since Macpherson made the first attempt in this direction; but the storm of controversy which the publication of his volumes aroused is still fresh, and even yet it is quite possible that some may be found who side with Johnson in declaring him an impostor. Among those, however, whose opinions have another than traditional origin a feeling quite different prevails. The study of the Celtic languages and literature has for some years back taken its place among the Sciences, and France and Germany as well as Great Britain and Ireland can boast of not a few accomplished students whose contributions to the subject are continually increasing. Macpherson's appreciation of the literature of the Celt seems to have been purely literary and patriotic; it is now being studied in a more scientific way and from a philological and historical point of view, and with corresponding results. Macpherson's translations have become old fashioned, and cannot at all compare in accuracy or fulness with those which have since been made. Passages which he omitted for fear of giving offence are translated in the present without scruple, and the value of the literature which he may almost be said to have discovered, is on almost all hands admitted. The

volume before us, which is issued under the editorship of M. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, and forms the fifth volume of his well known *Cours de littérature celtique*, consists of a series of translations by well known scholars of some of the best pieces of the old Irish literature. The 'Táin bó Cualngi' and the 'Togail Bruidne dá Derga,' the two most important tales of the earliest period, are not represented, but are promised in the second volume. In all we have translations of seventeen pieces, of which twelve are taken from the Ulster cycle, three from that of Leinster, and two from the mythological. Among the first, M. Dottin translates 'The Birth and Reign of Conchobar' from the Books of Leinster and Ballymote, 'The Birth of Conchobar' from the Stowe MS., edited by M. Kuno Meyer, and several other pieces; M. L. Duvau translates 'The Conception of Cúchulainn' from the text of Windisch, and 'The History of MacDatho's Hound' from the same editor's text; and M. M. Grammont 'The Exile of the Sons of Doel Dermait,' an episode from the Feast of Bricrin, using the text also edited by Windisch from the Yellow Book of Lecan. Of the mythological fragments one is from the hand of M. F. Lot. As for the translations to which no name is affixed, they are presumably by the Editor. Each piece is prefaced with a short introduction, indicating the source from whence the text is taken, and the Editor by whom it has been published, who in most instances is Dr. Windisch. Short explanatory notes are given at the foot of the pages, and these are frequently supplemented by longer notes at the end of the translations. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville contributes a careful introduction to the series, in which reference is made to the work of Macpherson, as well as to his predecessor, the author of the old German poem of Hildebrand and Hadubrand. Reference is also made to the traces of Druidism, which in spite of the efforts to eradicate them, most of the Irish texts still retain, and the civilisation of the Celts is compared with the Greek, Roman and Christian. The name of the Editor is a sufficient guarantee for the scholarship and accuracy of the work, which is an additional indication of the zeal with which the study of the Celtic language and literature is being carried on on the Continent, and of the efforts which are being made to popularise it.

Horae Sabbaticae: Reprint of Articles contributed to *The Saturday Review*. By Sir JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN, Bart., K.C.S.I. 2 Vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Like all that Sir James Stephen has written, the articles which make up these volumes, though originally contributed to a 'Weekly,' are full of solid work. Their claim to be reprinted and cast into a permanent and handy form, no one who reads them will for a moment question. They deserve to be read and re-read, both for the condensed information they convey and for the calm, dispassionate, and weighty judgments they contain. Each of them represents a considerable amount of reading, and not less, if not more, of thought. As a rule, the subject of each paper is one of the great writers, either English or foreign, but chiefly the former, and one or more of his works. That Sir James has read the works he deals with, and has mastered both them and their author's way of thinking and writing, is obvious. His analyses, though brief, are luminous, and exhibit a rare faculty of penetrating to the central idea of a work and setting it out with the utmost clearness and precision. Take, for instance, the papers on Hooker, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, Montaigne, Bossuet, or Voltaire. It is scarcely too much to say that most readers will gain a better idea from them as to what these several authors wrote and intended by

their works, than they would by reading the works themselves, and with very much less labour. Students will of course go to the authors' *ipsissima verba*, but even they will be glad to obtain the aid of so excellent a guide. They may find occasion to differ from some of the opinions Sir James expresses; all the same, they will be none the less grateful for the assistance here afforded them. As to the authors treated in the papers, the first dealt with are three of the great mediæval chroniclers, Joinville, Froissart, and Philippe de Comines; these are followed by an essay on Montaigne, while the next eight are devoted to Hooker, Laud, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, and Archbishop Williams, and the two which follow them to Clarendon. In the second volume, the first four are given to the study of Hobbes. These are succeeded by two on Bossuet, and these again by four on Locke. Bayle, Mandeville, and Voltaire are next dealt with; Bishop Butler and Warburton have each two essays devoted to them; Conyers Middleton and Hume have one each, and Gibbon two. At first sight the essays seem to be of a somewhat miscellaneous character, but that is not the case. In his last essay Sir James remarks that according to the Memoir the subject which from the first had engaged Gibbon's attention was religion. And this, so at least it seems to us, is the one subject which underlies all the five and thirty essays in these volumes. To one essay we turned with some curiosity. Archbishop Laud has been written about both by Lord Macaulay and Cardinal Newman. Sir James Stephen's opinion agrees with that of neither of these writers, but lies between them. The title chosen for the volumes is extremely apt. There is no controversy in them. The papers are calm and judicial in the last degree. If they have one fault, it is their brevity. They are admirably done, and have each the clearness and beauty of a finely cut cameo.

The Song of Dermot and the Earl. An Old French Poem from the Carew Manuscript, No. 596 in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace. Edited with Literal Translation and Notes, a Facsimile, and a Map, by GODDARD HENRY ORPEN. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1892.

The manuscript from which Mr. Orpen has taken his text, though its existence was well known, has rarely been used. Writers, as a rule, have been content to use the abstract of it made by Carew, and printed by Walter Harris in his *Hibernica* in 1747 and again in 1770. As far back as 1837 the text was printed by M. Francisque Michel, but imperfectly, and the only writers who seem to have made use of his text are Miss Norgate in her *Angevin Kings*, and Professor G. T. Stokes in the second volume of his *Lectures on the Church in Ireland*. Even so careful a writer as Mr. Bagwell does not seem to have made any use of it, and appears to have preferred the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis. As a narrative of the Norman invasion of Ireland, however, the text as now printed deserves to be regarded as one of the best, if not, in fact, as the chief authority. Though not by Morice Regan, who has usually been regarded as its author, the *chanson* has every appearance of being a faithful record of his narrative, but by whom is unknown. Regan was Dermot's latimer, or interpreter, and it is quite possible that he may himself have made a rhymed chronicle of the invasion, but the opening lines, as well as others, clearly prove that the author of the narrative here is not Regan, but one to whom he related the *geste*. Various passages would also seem to suggest both that this was not the first attempt to versify Regan's material, and that the author of it, whoever he was, did not rely

solely on written materials, but made use of other sources of information. Certain passages seem even to point to Morice Regan himself as his informant. Mr. Orpen gives good reasons for regarding the poem as 'substantially a reproduction of the account of a contemporary writer.' That it is derived from the *Expugnatio* he does not think, and believes that it is in substance the work of a writer who wrote before the *Expugnatio* was published. The date of the MS. he is inclined to place in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, somewhat earlier than M. Francisque Michel. This, however, is a question which he has enabled palaeographers to settle for themselves, having placed at the beginning of the volume a beautiful collotype reproduction of one of the pages of the MS. Mr. Orpen's translation, though scarcely so concise as it might have been, reproduces the sense of the original correctly. His notes, both philological and historical, leave little if anything to be desired. To the geography of the poem he has paid particular attention. The introduction is full of information as to the MS. and its history. Altogether Mr. Orpen has certainly done his work well, and earned the gratitude of students both of history and philology.

Histoire de l'Art Byzantin considéré principalement dans les Miniatures. Par N. KONDAKOFF. Edition française originale, publiée par l'Auteur, sur la traduction de M. TRAWINSKI. Tome II., 13 gravures. Paris: Librairie de l'Art.

The first volume of this work, in which M. Kondakoff gives an elaborate, painstaking, and attractive history of Byzantine Art chiefly as represented in manuscripts and miniatures, we had the pleasure of noticing some time ago. In this the second volume, having already dealt with the origin and transition period of his subject, he proceeds to give an account of it during the ninth and three following centuries, when it reached the period of its highest development, and subsequently fell into decay. Considered in connection with the history of Art in general, the period is one of very considerable importance. It is one also about which comparatively little has hitherto been known. Like M. M. d'Agincourt and Labarte, M. Kondakoff points out that the almost sudden development of art towards the end of the ninth century was due largely to the interest taken in it by the Emperors of the Macedonian dynasty, and to the renewed political activity of the Empire when it ceased to be Roman and universal and became almost exclusively Byzantine. He traces its influence from Constantinople, and shows how it was felt in Asia Minor, among the islands of the Mediterranean, in Northern Italy, and in France, as well as its intimate relations with the art of the Renaissance period in Western Europe. For the purposes of his history M. Kondakoff's researches have been very extensive; the number of manuscripts alone which he has examined, cited, or described in the course of his work is close on two hundred, while the mosaics and other works referred to are equally numerous. Taken together the two volumes are a distinct contribution to a great but little known subject, and afford additional testimony to the vast and important part played by the Eastern Empire in the history of civilisation, and to the immense debt of gratitude which is owed to it by the modern world.

Recollections of a Happy Life: being the Autobiography of Marianne North. Edited by her Sister, Mrs. JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 2 Vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Miss North's 'Recollections' are not here printed as she left them.

Considerable portions, it would appear, have been cut out entirely and the first chapters compressed. What the excised chapters contained beyond the fact that there was in them a record of her earlier journeys, we do not know. But if they possess anything like the interest which distinguishes those which have been permitted to see the light, we can only hope that in subsequent editions they will be given to the world. We say 'subsequent editions,' because it is scarcely possible that so remarkable a book can fail to become exceedingly popular. We have but two faults to find with it. The first is the want of an index, or even a good table of contents. This is a somewhat serious drawback, but may easily be remedied. So also may the other. One or two sentences are scarcely intelligible, or perhaps we shall be nearer the mark if we say grammatical, and are probably due to the haste with which the pages have been passed through the press. A book like this cannot be too well edited. The addition of a few dates would be an advantage. As for the *Recollections* themselves, they are simply charming. One returns to them again and again with increased pleasure. Pervaded by a genial, happy spirit, always full of vigour and activity, and animated by a noble purpose, they are written with a freshness and simplicity which invests them with an unfailing interest. Miss North was descended from the famous Norths, her fourth great-grandfather being the Attorney-General under James II., who wrote the well-known lives of his three brothers. From him she probably inherited her taste for music and painting. Her father, who from first to last was the one idol and friend of her life, was sometime Member of Parliament for Hastings. 'Apart from him,' she says, 'I had little pleasure and no secrets.' When a child, 'he used,' she continues, 'to carry me on his shoulders over the hills and far away, down on the beach to see the fishing-boats land, and the heaps of glittering slippery fish counted and sold by Dutch auction; and I well remember the old fishermen, covered with silver scales, calling out, "Make way for Muster North and his little gal!" giving me kind pats with great salt hands as I passed perched high on father's shoulder through the crowd.' Of formal education she had scarcely any, but her great natural ability, enthusiasm and energy made up for any neglect in that respect. Painting and music were her delight. 'She painted,' her sister, Mrs. Symonds, says, 'as a clever child would, everything she thought beautiful in nature, and had scarcely ever any artistic teaching.' In music it was different. For this she had a real genius. Nature had endowed her with a beautiful thrilling contralto voice, and for many years, until it gave way, she submitted, though hating 'rules,' to the drudgery of musical training both on the continent and at home under her mistress and friend, Madame Sainton Dolby. After her father's death, she formed the magnificent purpose of painting the flora of every country in the world. So vast an undertaking seems too much for one, but she worked steadily at it, painting, studying, travelling with a zeal, steadfastness, courage, and venturesomeness almost marvellous and achieved much more than would at first sight have seemed possible. In these volumes we have the records of her journeys and work and adventures in Canada and the United States, in California and Tenerife, in Brazil and Chili, in India and Japan, Borneo and Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand, Singapore, Ceylon, and the Seychelles Islands. To say that they form an admirable book of travels would be to give an extremely inadequate description of them. Miss North never travelled for travelling's sake. She had always her purpose in view. The risks she ran and the escapes she had were sometimes wonderful. Her descriptive powers were great, and her book is full of 'word-painting.' The narrative is if anything a little too compressed, but always charmingly attractive. The friends she

made were numerous, and her volumes are almost as remarkable for their descriptions of social life as they are for their pictures of forest and other natural scenery in the countries she visited.

America and the Americans: a Narrative of a Tour in the United States and Canada, with Chapters on American Home Life. By ALEXANDER CRAIB, F.S.A. Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner. 1892.

Canada and the United States have been so often visited, and so much has been written about them, that one almost wonders that anything new can be said about them. Life there, however, is so active, and developments take place so rapidly, that an intelligent and observant traveller like Mr. Craib has little difficulty in finding much that is new to say. Mr. Craib has a keen eye, and has looked about him to some purpose. He has his prejudices, and betrays his cloth, as is only natural, but he has a good word to say for most people, and among others for the Catholic population of Canada. Of the religious and social life of the two great countries he visited, he has been specially observant, and has much that is interesting to tell of Churches and Church organizations, preachers and preaching. Trade and Commerce also engaged his attention, as well as hotels and hotel life. Here and there, too, are descriptions of scenery and incidents of travel. The chapter on the home-life of the Americans will probably be read with more than ordinary interest. It deals with a large subject, but can scarcely be called exhaustive. As a description of the home-life of those among whom Mr. Craib mixed, it is doubtless true, and is borne out by the statements of the Americans themselves; but outside the circle in which he would naturally mix, and among whom he found himself, there is a large class of whose life his chapter will hardly hold true. His opinion of what he saw seems to be summed up in the sentences: 'Life in the New World differs from ours in its adaptations to the relationship of the country and the character of the people. It is in a social sense freer than ours, more radiant and attractive. All life in the States is different from ours; it is more essentially intense, more significantly rapid and advanced.' We have noticed one slip; the Victoria Bridge across the St. Lawrence was not designed by George, but by Robert Stephenson.

Protomantis, and other Poems. By LEWIS MORRISON-GRANT. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1892.

Mr. Morrison-Grant is, if we mistake not, a new poet, and hails from the far North. This latter is suggested not only by the verses on the Moray Firth, but also by the general tone and colouring of his poems. He is not wanting in imagination, nor in intensity of feeling, nor even in variety of fancy; all the same there is a singular lack of warmth and sunshine about the verses he has here written. This may or may not be a fault. In one respect it is not. Mr. Morrison-Grant's longer poems reflect, and reflect with fidelity, the cold gray feeling of the North, and if they are touched with a certain feeling of melancholy, it is that deeper melancholy which comes of dwelling on the more profound and mysterious aspects of life. As a descriptive piece 'The Moray Firth' deserves commendation. It shows considerable mastery over the art of versification, while it is sufficiently realistic to give one the feeling of being enveloped in the fog-laden atmosphere of the Firth on a November morning, and of hearing the plash of its sullen waters upon the beach. The first poem, from which the volume takes its title, 'Protomantis,' is somewhat more ambitious. The idea of it is struck in the opening lines:—

'Nations are dead without prophetic men
Of far foreseeing eyes, God given to Earth,
Themselves to ascend to loftier heights, and call
The peoples upward with a mighty voice
That none may disregard. They are more than Kings
Who rule but lead not, powerless o'er men's souls,
More than the peoples are, and next to God.'

In about five hundred lines the idea here expressed is worked out with considerable freshness. What strikes us most about it is its evident reserve of power. The difficult measure in which it is written is well managed, and generally speaking there is a stateliness about the verses which is not easily attained. Some of Mr. Morrison-Grant's minor pieces are scarcely so well done. The pieces written in Scotch are the most successful. Here the author appears to be more at home, and to write with more freedom and elasticity. On the whole, however, he has amply made out his title to be regarded as a poet. The subjects with which he deals are everywhere of a high order, and his poems are indubitably the products of a thoughtful and cultured mind.

Imperial Defence. By the Right Honourable Sir CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, Bart., and SPENCER WILKINSON. London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1892.

The condition of the army and navy has for some time back engaged a considerable amount of public attention, and many have been the searchings of heart as to whether in the event of the outbreak of a great war the country is sufficiently prepared to meet it. The authors of this volume are decidedly of opinion that it is not. Both of them may be termed experts, inasmuch as they have given much and careful attention to the subject. The position they take up is that of reformers. They are dissatisfied both with the navy and the army, and are of opinion that the former needs to be strengthened, and that each of them is in need of reorganization. Their first point is to meet the objection that discussions such as the one they are engaged on promote the growth of the militant disposition, and thereby tend to increase the probability of war. This they do by explaining their conviction that the maintenance of an adequate and well organised naval and military force is a national necessity and a national duty, and by showing the grounds on which it rests. Like many other writers they regard the navy as the first line of defence and think the command of the sea essential to the safety of the empire. The plan they favour is Lord St. Vincent's, but point out that as at present constituted the navy is inadequate. 'The navy' they say, 'in spite of the building programme undertaken in 1889, is still far short of the standard laid down by the admirals, certainly in ironclads, and, probably, also in cruisers and torpedo vessels.' The first and most crying need of Imperial defence, they maintain, is for the construction of new ships, for the increase of the *personnel* of the navy, and for a searching trial, and if need be, a complete renewal of existing naval ordnance. A great part of the volume is devoted to India. Here they point out the danger of allowing any hostile force to obtain a footing in the country, and maintain that the specific military task of the British Empire is in repelling any attack which may be made from the north-west. 'The conflict,' it is argued, 'must be fought out in the debateable border lands.' The construction of a railway through the Sulimans is urged as the most effective means of securing the friendship of the Pathans and of approaching Ghazni in the event of a threatened

invasion by Russia. There is an excellent chapter on the geographical features of the north-west frontier, and two chapters are devoted to the army, in the second of which many suggestions are made in respect of its reorganization.

The History of David Grieve, 3 vols., by Mrs. Humphry Ward (Smith, Elder & Co.), is certainly a work of more than ordinary merit. Whether it is equal to *Robert Elsmere* is a matter with which we need not concern ourselves here, though the temptation to compare the two is strong. This much, however, may be said, like *Robert Elsmere*, *David Grieve* is the history of a soul, but with the difference that while the hero of the former has all the educational advantages of school and university, the hero of the latter has nothing of the kind. Both he and his sister are strong and passionate natures, as wild and untamed, at first, as the winds that blow about the moors on which they were reared, and the problem which Mrs. Humphry Ward seems to have set herself is to show how the two grew up and were affected by the experience through which they had to pass. That their characters and those of all the rest in the story are powerfully drawn, and that the plot is constructed with considerable skill, is only what we should expect in a work from the hand which wrote *Robert Elsmere*. The characters, however, which give one the idea of completeness of portrayal are not those of David and his sister, but of Ancrum and Dora. If any fault can be found with those of the former, it is the want of minute delicacy of treatment. The broad features are there, and the predominant energies; but there is an absence of those small, but significant touches which are characteristic of the genuine artist's work, and show that the individuals whom he portrays are human beings and not machines driven by a single passion. The absence of humour in the book is marked. There is much excellent writing scattered throughout its pages, and here and there beautiful thoughts. But the chapters give one the idea of being forced, and the effort to produce an impression is not always inconspicuous. All the same, the work is in every way much beyond the ordinary novel, and unquestionably one of the best which has appeared during recent years. That it will obtain the same popularity as its predecessor is doubtful. The questions discussed in its pages are not theological, but socialistic. The circle to which the latter appeal may be wide, but that to which the former appeal is wider. On the other hand there is much mental and spiritual analysis in the volumes, and many touching scenes of penitence, remorse and affection occur.

Grania, the Story of an Island, 2 vols., by the Hon. Emily Lawless (Smith, Elder & Co.), is a genuine bit of Irish life. Practically it is a psychological study, but the pathetic and tragic elements in it give it a power which is fully realized only when the end is reached. The story is cast on one of the islands of Aran in the Bay of Galway, and the atmospheric and other scenery is described with great felicity. The conversational parts are managed with skill and repay perusal. As for plot, there is extremely little in the story. It is a tale of true but unrequited love, beautifully and touchingly told, with all the circumstance of peasant and fishing life on the West Coast of Ireland. Mrs. Lawless has done nothing better.

Muckle Jock, and other Stories of Peasant Life in the North, by Malcolm M'Lennan (Macmillan), is a selection from the author's two volumes of stories which were originally published in 1869 and 1872. Of their value as pictures of peasant life in the North of Scotland, as well as of their

artistic worth, there can be no question. Each of them is worked out with a fulness of detail and perfection of workmanship rarely surpassed. In their way, indeed, each of the stories is a gem, and will bear reading again and again.

Village Sermons by the late R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L., (Macmillan) is a collection of sermons preached by the late Dean of St. Paul's during the time he was Vicar of Whatley. The sermons are in all thirty-two. Though seldom what is termed eloquent, they are always vigorous both in style and matter, and seem to be admirably fitted for a village congregation. They are full of religious instruction, couched in the simplest language. The speculative element is entirely absent from them. From first to last they are eminently practical. In each of them a special theme is dealt with, and the manner in which it is enforced betrays a very considerable amount of skill. As village sermons they will probably take their place among the best in the language.

The Rev. Stopford A. Brooke's *Short Sermons* (Macmillan) are intended for use in family services as well as for private reading. Doctrinal and contested points are carefully avoided; the subjects dealt with in the sermons, which number thirty-nine, being such as Gratitude, the Law of Love, the Unused Talent, the City of the Soul, Mercy, Christian Thoughtfulness and Purity of Heart. On whatever the author touches in these sermons he throws the light of poetry and religion, and invests it with a peculiar charm. Though dealing with old and apparently worn out subjects the sermons are remarkably fresh. As a sermon writer, in fact Mr. Stopford Brooke is here at his best, and in matter as well as in the chastened character of its style the volume before us may claim the first place among the numerous volumes he has hitherto produced.

Another volume of sermons is Dr. C. C. Hall's *Into His Marvellous Light* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). Neither in thought nor in style will they compare with either of the volumes just noticed. Still they have merits of their own. They are evidently the result of much careful thought and the utterances of a devout mind. That they are easy reading can scarcely be said. Probably, like many other sermons, their principal charm lay in their delivery. That they are practical and reverential in their tone and teaching is beyond question.

The Statesman's Year Book, 1892 (Macmillan) still retains its position as the best book of its kind. Too much praise can scarcely be given to its editor, Mr. J. Scott Keltie, for the care and accuracy with which he has collected and arranged his facts. That he has managed to tabulate in the volume all the latest available statistics which can naturally be expected to be of interest to public men, we need not say. In addition to the usual information he has in the present issue incorporated the results of the censuses of the leading countries of the world. An entirely new feature is a series of maps, representing the density of the population of the globe on the basis of the new censuses and estimates, the distribution of the British Empire, the partition of Africa, and the international frontiers on the Pamirs. These will undoubtedly be of service, more especially the last of them. It differs in several important respects from those which have appeared in newspapers and elsewhere, and has been revised by the highest geographical and political authorities on the subject. There is just one tendency which, whether it is to be regretted or not, is probably unavoidable, and that is to increase the size of the volume. Its handiness has hitherto been one of its most commendable features.

Saint-Simon und der Saint-Simonismus (Leipzig, Gustav Fock), by Dr. Otto Warschauer, is the first part of the author's *Geschichte des Socialismus und neueren Kommunismus*, and is taken up with an account of Saint-Simon's life and his doctrines. The aim of the work to which it forms the introduction is to give the history of the modern Socialistic and Communitistic movements, to expound the ideas and purposes by which those who take part in them are actuated, and to provide, in short, a manual for those who are interested in the social questions of the day.

Medieval Scottish Poetry (Glasgow, Hodge & Co.), is the second volume of the Abbotsford Series of the Scottish Poets, which is being issued under the editorial of Mr. George Eyre-Todd. The poets from whose works the selections are here made, are James I., Henryson, Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas. Mr. Eyre-Todd's introductions are written with taste and scholarship. The selections, too, are well made. If such a thing is possible, this volume, even more than its predecessor, is calculated to revive an interest in the old poetry of the country, and is eminently deserving of success.

Antoine Watteau, Les Brueghel and Abraham Bosse, are the most recent additions to the well known and admirable series, 'Les Artistes Célèbres' (Paris, Librairie de l'Art). In the first of them, M. G. Dargenty, who has already contributed the monograph on Le Baron Gros to the series, does ample justice to the genius of Watteau, of whom he appears to be an ardent admirer. His text is accompanied by a considerable number of illustrations, which have the merit of representing the talent of the artist under various aspects and of enabling the reader to follow the different phases through which it passed during his short but fruitful life. The author of *Les Brueghel* is M. E. Michel, well known as the author of the monographs on Rembrandt, Terburg, Hobbema, Jacob van Ruysdael; while *Abraham Bosse* is from the pen of M. A. Valabiegue. The two last, like the first, are abundantly illustrated, and each is supplied with the usual bibliography and catalogues, enumerating the works of the artist dealt with.

In *Ultonian Hero-Ballads* (Glasgow, A. Sinclair), Mr. Hector Maclean, whose name is well known to Folk-lorists as well as to Celtic scholars, has essayed a translation of some of the old Gaelic ballads. Though his texts are usually taken from well known sources, he has edited them afresh and compared them with variants which he has himself collected in the Highlands. The ballads are in all seven, and among them are, to give them their English titles, 'Garve the Son of Starn,' 'Cuchullin in His Chariot,' the 'Lament of Deirdri,' and 'Conlach.' Along with the translations we have the Gaelic text, notes, a glossary, and an excellent introduction. The little volume ought to find a welcome in many quarters.

Musiciens d'aujourd'hui (Paris, Librairie de l'Art) is a series of papers which M. Adolphe Julien, the distinguished author of the excellent volumes, *Richard Wagner* and *Hector Berlioz*, has contributed from time to time to a number of French periodicals, and among others to *l'Art*. They deal with the chief musical composers, from Berlioz to Jules Massenet. The biographical element scarcely enters into them. Each of them may be regarded as a critical study of one or more of the works of the author from whose name they take their title. Of the works of Wagner, those noticed are, The Valkyrie, Lohengrin, and Siegfried; of Schumann, Manfred, Faust, and Paradise and the Perè. Six of Gounod's are noticed, but Faust is not among them; five of Bizet's, and eight of Massenet's. The papers are instructive reading.

From Messrs. Macmillan & Co. we have the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes of the new edition of the late Professor Maurice's *Lincoln's Inn Sermons*, volumes which contains some of the best sermons Mr. Maurice ever wrote, and complete the re-issue.

From the same Publishers we have also *Eternal Hope*, *The Fall of Man*, *The Witness of History to Christ*, and *The Silences and Voices of God* by Archdeacon Farrar. The first of them we observe is here reprinted for the sixteenth time, and would appear to be the most popular of all the Archdeacon's popular works. In this new edition he refutes the charge of having changed his views on the subjects dealt with in the five sermons forming the volume, and re-affirms them. *The Fall of Man* is in its sixth edition, and *The Witness of History* in its ninth. *The Silences and Voices of God* also appears for the ninth time. Though less expensive this new edition of the Archdeacon's sermons is not in any way inferior to the earlier issues in the matter of typography.

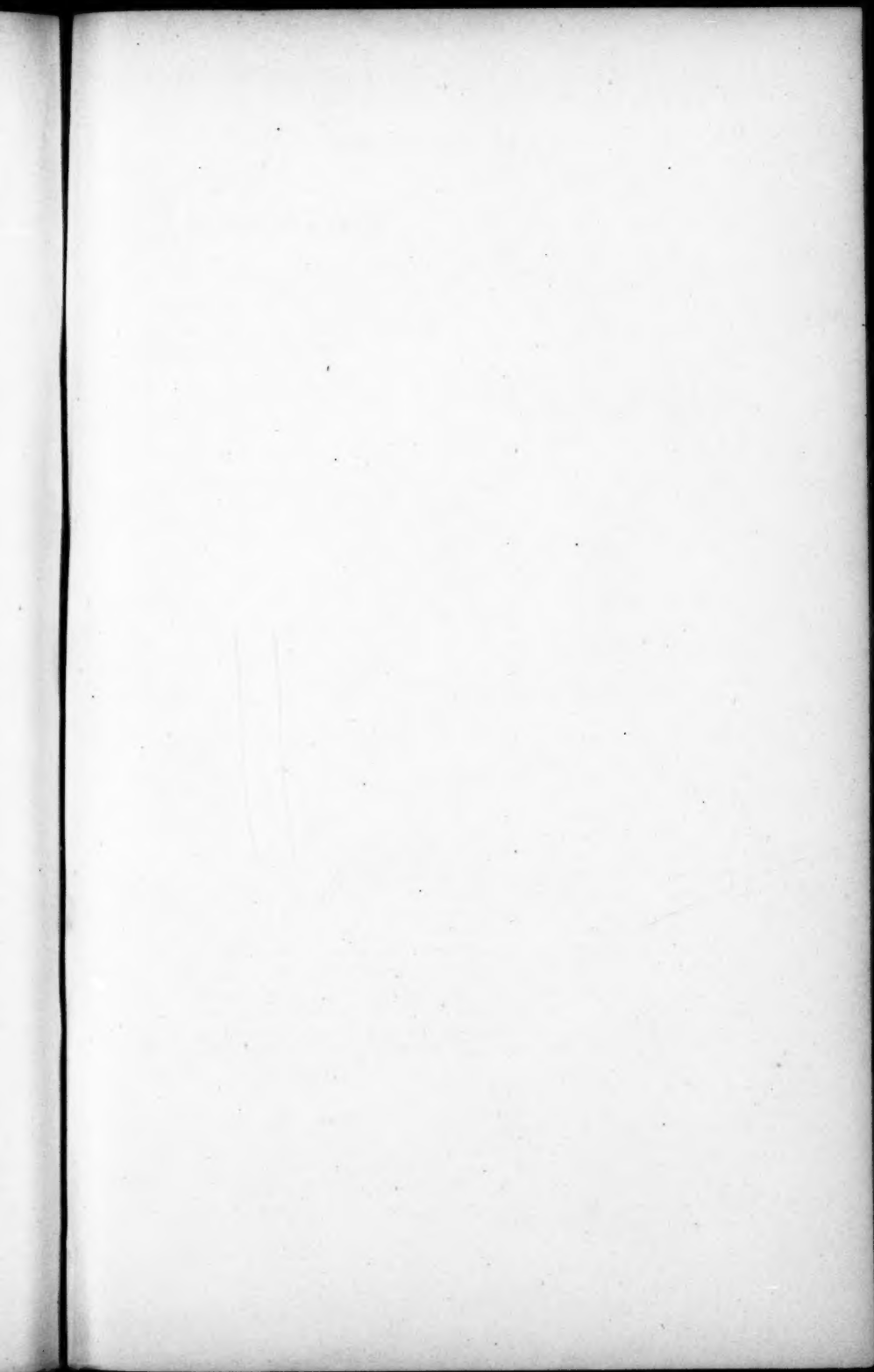
The same publishers issue also a new edition of Professor Milligan's *Lectures on the Apocalypse*. The appendices which originally accompanied the lectures are here left out, it being the Professor's intention to publish them shortly in a new and extended form.

The new edition of Lord Selborne's *Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes*, which is also from Messrs. Macmillan & Co., contains besides other additional matter a supplement of about fifty pages, in which the author reviews the statements advanced in opposition to him by Mr. Clark in his recently published *History of Tithes*. The history of Bishop Leofric's Rule for Secular Canons is also made out, Lord Selborne having traced it back to its source in the Gallican Rule for Canons, enlarged after the Council held at Aix-la-Chapelle in A. D. 816, from that given by Chrodegang in King Pippin's time to three churches at Metz.

The Thirteen Satires of Juvenal (Macmillan), translated by Alexander Leeper, M.A., LL.D., is a new and revised edition of the translation which in three previous editions has appeared with Dr. H. A. Strong's name upon the title page, in addition to that which it now bears. The omission of Dr. Strong's name is due to the fact that in the present issue the original translation has been thoroughly revised and to a large extent re-written by Dr. Leeper. Close and vigorous as the original version was that which Dr. Leeper has now prepared is an improvement. It is if anything closer and more faithful, and abounds in happy turns of expression. Altogether it is an exceptionally excellent piece of work, and deserves to stand side by side with such faithful renderings as Mr. Munro's *Lucretius* and Mr. Lang's *Theocritus*. A number of brief notes justifying the renderings, and a few illustrative quotations have been added.

Poems. By William Watson. (Macmillan). This volume is chiefly a reprint of the second edition of the Author's *Wordsworth's Grave and other Poems*. There are twenty-six short pieces in it, however, which are here brought together for the first time. Readers of the earlier volume will read these with no less pleasure. Mr. Watson's verses are always musical, and here and there are lines of singular beauty.

Among other books the following have reached us. *The Revelation of the Trinity* by S. B. G. M'Kinney, M.A., (Stock); *A plain Commentary on the First Gospel* by an Agnostic (Williams and Newgate); *Great Pan Lives* by Clelia, (Luzac); *Michael Villiers, Idealist*, by E. H. Hickery, (Smith, Elder); *Left-handedness* by Sir D. Wilson, (Macmillan); *Literary Coincidences*, etc., by W. A. Clouston, (Morison); *A Vain Sacrifice* by Jessie K. Dawson, (Olipphant).



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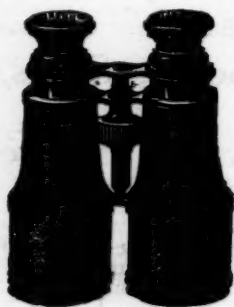


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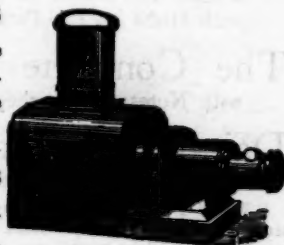
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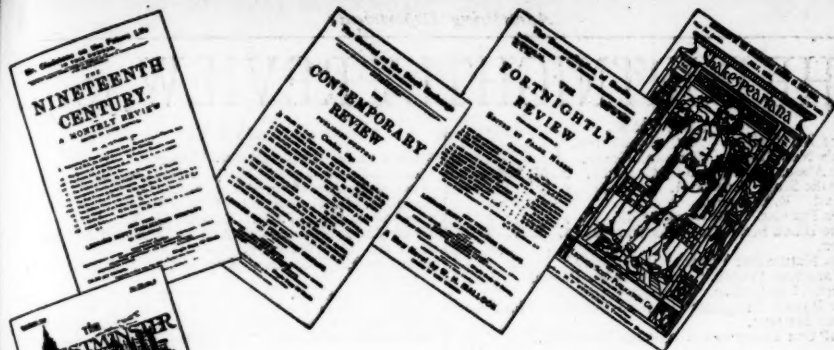
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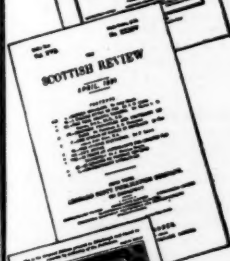
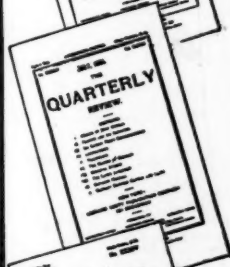
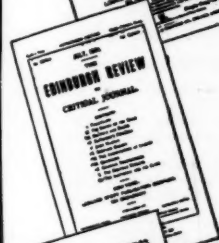
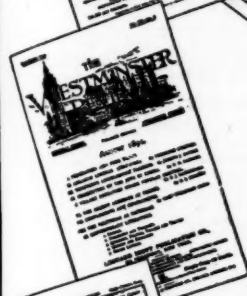
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